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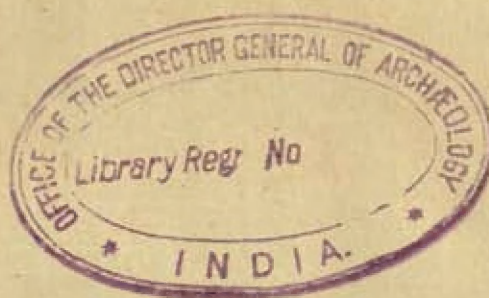
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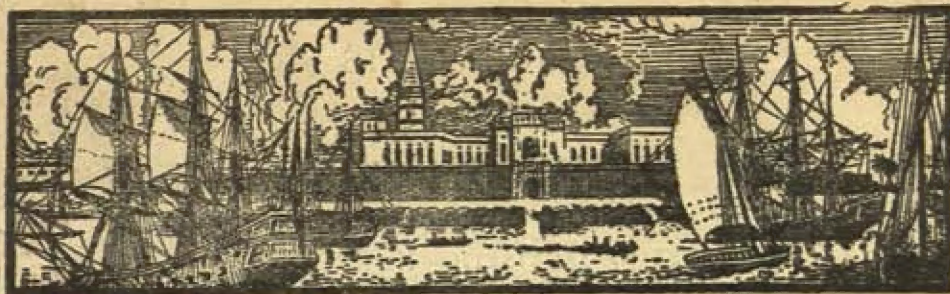
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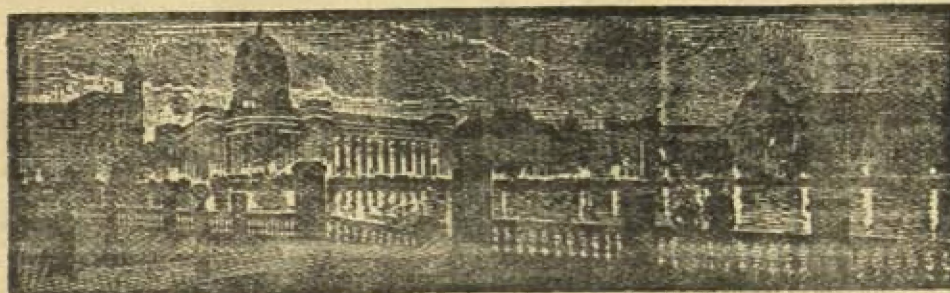
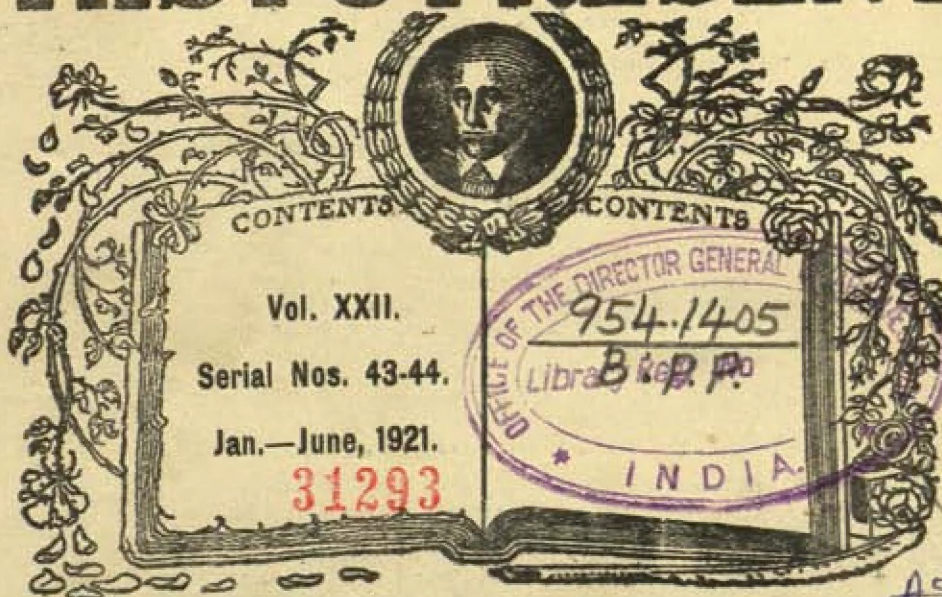
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# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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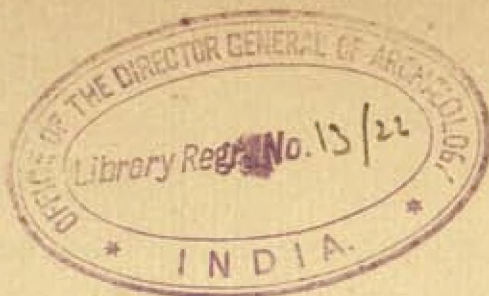
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## The House of Jagatseth II.

COMPILED BY LATE MR. J. H. LITTLE, B.A.

*Headmaster of the Nawab Bahadur's Institution, Murshidabad, Bengal.*

*(Continued from page 200 of Vol. XX.)*

At the end of the year Alivardi Khan left Murshidabad to subdue Orissa which was held by one of Sarfaraz Khan's officers named Murshid Kuli Khan and was absent during the whole of 1741 and part of 1742. In the beginning of 1742 Haji Ahmad, who had been left in charge of the government at Murshidabad, was quarrelling with the English on the ground that they were carrying on an illegal trade in salt. "The English," he said to their vakil, "traded with much greater advantage than even the King's own subjects it was therefore shameful in them to peddle in the few things left for the natives; besides salt was reserved for the Nabob's own profit and we had several times experienced during his (Haji Ahmad's) ministry that a trade therein would not be suffered." The English vakil contended that if any of the Company's servants or soldiers had engaged in the trade in salt they had done so in a clandestine manner but the Company itself had no cognisance of the matter. Haji Ahmad refused to believe him and during the whole interview was in such a passion that the vakil was soon reduced to silence.

When the news of this reached Calcutta the Council met on the 1st February and resolved to send letters through the President to Haji Ahmad and Jagat Seth Fateh Chand which they hoped would have a good effect in accommodating the affair. They hoped much from Fateh Chand. "If he is pleased to use his good offices," they said, "we flatter ourselves Hadjee may be brought into better temper by his means." Their hopes were justified. On the 22nd February the English at Cassimbazar wrote "Through the means and interest of Futtichund the salt affair is finished. He has engaged to Hadjee Hamet that the English will not in future give umbrage to the government by a traffic of this kind." They forwarded a copy of Haji Ahmad's perwanna to the governor of Rajmahal ordering him not to molest the owners of the salt in dispute and recommended that these people should reimburse the Company for the cost of the perwanna which had amounted to Rs. 12,000 paid to Haji Ahmad and Rs. 1193 to officers at the Durbar. "They think themselves very fortunate," they added, "to finish this affair for such a sum which is wholly

owing to Futtichund's good offices and the Nabob being at so great a distance."<sup>220</sup>

In March 1741 the Company gave a note of hand to Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand for Rs. 150,000. In November they paid off Rs. 50,000 of this and in March 1742 Jagat Seth's gomastah at Calcutta asked that the interest on this account might be made up and paid to him. The interest, calculated up to the 21st March, amounted to Rs. 12,000 and this sum was paid to Jagat Seth's gomastah on the 29th. At the same time a new note of hand for the balance of Rs. 100,000, payable on demand, and to carry interest at the rate of nine per cent. per annum, was given by the Company to, Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand.

On the same date the name of Seth Mahtab Rai, the son of Seth Anand Chand, appears in the records for the first time. Besides the note of hand for Rs. 100,000 mentioned above the Company's servants signed two other notes of hand, one for Rs. 110,000 and the other for Rs. 100,000, both payable to Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand, and an additional note for Rs. 90,000 payable to Seth Mahtab Rai. The latter had now taken his father's place in the firm which, however, as late as 1750 when Fateh Chand had been dead six years, still figures in the records as the house of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand.<sup>221</sup>

However the English did not use any one title consistently as the designation of the firm but Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand, Jagat Seth Futtichund alone or Seth Mahtab Rai were all used indifferently. In fact when the four transactions mentioned above were settled the note of hand for Rs. 90,000 is ascribed to Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and one for Rs. 100,000 to Seth Mahtab Rai as the following extract from the Consultations dated the 15th November, 1742 shows "The President now laid before the Board the following Interest notes paid off pursuant to Order of Council the 8th Instant and They were now Cancelled at the Board.

To Juggatseat Futtichund—Dated 21st March, 1741-2.

Principal	...	...	100,000
Interest to 8th November 7 mos. 18 days			
at 9 p.c. P. ann.	...	...	5,700
			<hr/>
			105,700
Batta 15½ P. Cent.	...	...	16,383"8

122083"8

220. Bengal Consultations, 1st February, 1741-42; 27th February, 1741-42.

221. Bengal Consultation, 29th March, 1742.

To Jaggatseat Futtichund—Dated 26th March, 1741-2.

Principal	...	90000
Interest to do. 7 mos 13 das at Do.		3017"8

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95017"8

Batta 15½ P. Ct.	..	14727"10"6
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109745"2"6

To Juggatseat Futtichund and Anunchund dated do.

Principal	...	110,000
Interest, to do. 7 mos 13 das at Do.	...	6,132"8

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116,132"8"

Batta 15½ P. Cent.	...	18,000"8"9
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134133"-9

To Seat Moubatry—dated ditto.

Principal	...	100000
Interest to do. 7 mos 13 das at Do.	...	5575

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105575

Batta 15½ P. Cent.	...	16364"2"-
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121939"2"-

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487900"13"3

A troublous period now befell the inhabitants of Bengal. In March 1742 reports began to reach Murshidabad that the Mahrattas had entered the province and were making their way to Birbhum. By the 3rd April people began to notice that Haji Ahmad and Jagat Seth Fateh Chand were extremely busy—the former in taking measures for the defence of the city and the latter in making preparations for sending away his family and treasure. The next day it transpired that Jagat Seth had received a letter from the raja of the invaded district announcing that he had fled to Birbhum from before the face of a force of upwards of 80,000 Mahratta horse who were plundering every place they came to and holding up the principal inhabitants to ransom. Day by day the news became more alarming. Calcutta was being put into a state of defence, the Mahrattas had reached Birbhum plundering and burning every town they passed and were marching on to Murshidabad. By the end of April there was not a merchant or man of note left at Murshidabad or Cassimbazar except those connected with the government. Jagat Seth and the officers of the durbar had sent away their families which, the English at Cassimbazar declared, "looks as if things did not go right." 207 boats arrived at Calcutta and the report was

spread abroad "of vast sum of money being imported by them." Fifteen bags of rupees belonging to Jagat Seth undoubtedly arrived in the city at this time.<sup>222</sup>

Ominous reports began to be circulated about Alivardi Khan and his army who were marching back from Orissa and were said to have reached Burdwan where the Nawab had been forced to entrench himself strongly. Haji Ahmad marched from Murshidabad with a reinforcement of 3,000 men but got no further than Cutwa and had to return for the Mahrattas were in strong force between Cutwa and Burdwan. They had invested the Nawab's camp, cut him off from all supplies of provisions and skirmishes were of daily occurrence between the two armies. Alivardi Khan managed to get a letter through to Haji Ahmad informing the latter that he was surrounded by the enemy who had demanded a krór of rupees as the price of their withdrawal but he stoutly declared "they shall have nothing from me." At length the Nawab attempted to force a passage through the Mahratta army and this brought on a general battle in which numbers fell on both sides but the Nawab succeeded in forcing his way through with about 3,500 horse. "On the 4th May, at night, Hadjee received a letter from the camp which he immediately carried into his private apartment and communicated it only to Futtichund and one or two more contrary to his usual custom." The English vakíl was able to send the purport of this letter to his employers from which they could see "the condition the Nabob and his army are in." This, indeed, was almost desperate. The Mahrattas were on his flanks and rear, his army was destitute of provisions but in spite of every obstacle he conducted a notable and successful retreat as far as Cutwa. Here he was in comparative safety for the river was open to him and reinforcements and supplies of provisions could reach him.<sup>223</sup>

The rainy season was now approaching when the Mahrattas would be forced to retire but before retreating a renegade, named Mir Habib, promised the Mahratta general that if he would lend him a body of horse, he would bring him money enough to satisfy all his wishes. Eluding Alivardi Khan and his army he suddenly swooped down on Murshidabad, plundered the house of Jagat Seth "which they seemed to single out,"<sup>224</sup> and carried away two krórs of rupees besides a quantity of other goods. The translator of the Seir Mutaqherin was struck with the remarkable fact that this huge sum was all in rupees struck at Arcot and therefore but a fraction of Fateh Chand's wealth and adds "so amazing a loss which would distress any monarch in Europe, affected him so little,

222. Bengal Consultations, 29th March, 1742; 5th April, 1742; 20th April, 1742; 22nd April, 1742; 26th April, 1742.

223. Bengal Consultations, 26th April, 28th April, 3rd May, 12th May, 1742.

224. Bengal Consultation, 27th May, 1742.

that he continued to give government bills of exchange at sight of full one coror at a time : and the fact is too notorious in Bengal to need any proof."

A far heavier blow in the estimation of Jagat Seth followed. The Mahrattas were enemies and their raid was one of the ordinary risks of war but after they had departed, either some of the Nawab's or Haji Ahmad's mercenaries plundered his house again and carried off what the Mahrattas had left. Therefore, although there was nothing more to fear from the Mahrattas for at least four months, Jagat Seth Fateh Chand fled from Murshidabad taking his two grandsons with him. The Nawab sent officers to recall him but he refused to return and went on to Dacca. "How can I be in safety," he reasoned, "when there is no kind of government in the city"? Fateh Chand's arrival at Dacca on the 29th May produced such a panic in that place that had not the Diwan taken careful precautions not a person of any note would have remained in the city.<sup>225</sup>

The condition of affairs at Murshidabad on the 7th June may be seen in the following extracts from a letter received by the President and Council from Cassimbazar :—

"They are concerned to tell us that as yet none of their merchants who engaged for the silk piece Goods are returned or any of the weavers to their abodes all the towns where most of those goods were made being destroyed and the weavers' looms burned with their houses. . . . In an aresdast to the Nabob and Hadjee Hamet they have represented the great loss and disappointment they have already suffered in their business and which must vastly encrease unless authority be used to oblige their merchants to come and finish the contracts made but they fear the success of this petition for unless Juggatseat can be persuaded to return they believe few or none of the merchants will think it safe to do it his conduct being the general guide to all of them. They hear of his arrival at Dacca and pretending sickness to all the Nabob's messengers who on the 6th dispatched the Cozzee<sup>226</sup> of Muxcidavad to entreat him to come back his presence being as necessary to the Government as to the merchants. The Nabob and Hadjee have not seen one another for a week past and several presents sent by the former have been returned. It's said this difference was occasioned by some reflections the Nabob threw on the other's suffering the Morattoes to burn and plunder his camp and Juggatseat's house when he had twice their number. . . . Some imagine this a political quarrel but be it so or not their interest will not let it last long."<sup>227</sup>

A week later Jagat Seth returned to Murshidabad accompanied by most of the merchants but he left his two grandsons, Seth Mahtab Rai and Swarup

225. Bengal Consultations, 3rd June, 1742; 7th June, 1742.

226. Kazi judge.

227. Bengal Consultation, 10th June, 1742.

Chand at Dacca. The aspect of affairs at Murshidabad did not tend to restore his confidence and he seemed anxious to place his hoards of wealth in safe hands. On the one hand he pressed the English at Cassimbazar to take a loan from him for the use of that factory and offered bills for Patna and Dacca if any money was wanted there. On the other hand he absolutely refused to buy bullion. When the English at Cassimbazar asked him whether he would do so his reply was "No, for what use could I make of bullion when no mint business goes forward. Nor can I know how to send what money I have clear away therefore want no new incumbrances." On July 12th the Council sent for Jagat Seth's gomastah at Hugli who happened to be in Calcutta at the time and used every possible argument to persuade him to buy bullion at that place but he was deaf to all their arguments assuring the Council that he had orders from his masters not to meddle with any bullion and that similar orders had been sent to Jagat Seth's gomastahs at Dacca and other places.<sup>228</sup>

Matters got worse instead of better. Contrary to expectation the Mahrattas did not leave the province for the rainy season and their raiders penetrated to the neighbourhood of Murshidabad itself. The Nawab gathered large forces to cope with the invaders but his soldiers were as troublesome as the Mahrattas to the peaceful inhabitants of the province. They plundered everything they could lay their hands on and their victims were without redress. When the English at Cassimbazar complained to the Nawab of the many robberies committed near their factory he seemed heartily ashamed of them but did not care to venture on severe methods; on the contrary he was obliged to wink at the disorders of his soldiers lest they should desert him. Not the least of the Nawab's difficulties from this time was to satisfy the demands of his soldiers for their pay and to keep them under some sort of control. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that on the 10th July the Company's servants at Cassimbazar wrote to the Council "The 8th at night Juggatseat left Muxcidavad and several of their merchants have left Cassimbazar and they fear many more will follow."<sup>229</sup>

A few days after Jagat Seth's return to Dacca the English at Cassimbazar borrowed a lak of rupees from him "he not caring to lend a less sum." In August when the Company's servants at Dacca inquired of Jagat Seth the terms on which he would lend them money he replied that he was ready to lend them any sum they pleased at nine per cent. They thought the terms too high at such a time and referred the matter to the Council at Calcutta who ordered them not to advance any more money for goods and this rendered borrowing unnecessary. However, in October they borrowed Rs. 40,000 of Jagat Seth at

228. Bengal Consultations, 18th June, 21st June; 5th July, 12th July, 1742.

229. Bengal Consultations, 19th July, 1742; 9th September, 1742.

nine per cent. During his stay at Dacca Jagat Seth was able to do a service to the Company's servants at that place. Their boats had been stopped and their people ill-treated but when they applied to Jagat Seth for help he procured for them an order from the local Nawab directing that their boats should pass 'a future without molestation.<sup>230</sup>

In September the President had again written to Jagat Seth pressing him to buy the bullion sent out from England but once more Jagat Seth absolutely refused to purchase it while the troubles lasted. In November the President was more successful as the following resolution of the Council shows:—

“ Being largely in Debt to Futtichund who has at length by Frequent Letters and Entreatys been prevailed on to take bullion in payment thereof at the same price as our Merchants have usually done only insisting that it should be exactly weighed off to him against Sicca Rupees as Customary at Cossimbuzar and not to take the same at 9325 Sicca weight per each Chest which the Merchants do That being settled for the medium weight in President Hedges time

Agreed That We discharge our Debt to Futtichund in Bullion on those terms.

Ordered That Fifty four Chests Bullion be taken out of the Treasury and delivered to the President for this purpose.”<sup>231</sup>

The particulars of this transaction have been recorded on a preceding page.

The date of Jagat Seth's return to Murshidabad is uncertain. At the end of September Alivardi Khan had gained a great victory over the Mahrattas and chased them out of the province. In October both the Nawab and Haji Ahmad had written to Jagat Seth asking him to return and “ hoped he would.” In all probability he did so in November.<sup>232</sup>

On January 23rd 1743 the Company's servants at Dacca requested the the Council to send them three laks of rupees “ to discharge their interest notes to Juggatseat who demands the same or to have the notes renewed as he closes his books in March as usual.” On the 2nd February they asked for permission to borrow a further sum of money from Jagat Seth to carry on their trade. The Council replied to both letters on the 10th stating that they were preparing to send a lak of rupees to Dacca to enable the Company's servants there to carry on their trade but “ not being in cash ” they were unable to send sufficient to discharge their debt to Jagat Seth. They therefore authorised the renewal of the notes if Jagat Seth's people insisted on it but would prefer the notes to run on without renewal until money could be sent to pay them off. The merchants

230. Bengal Consultations 29th July, 23rd August, 30th August, 13th October, 8th November, 1742.

231. Bengal Consultation, 8th November, 1742.

232. Bengal Consultations, 4th October, 19th October, 1742.

at Dacca thought the latter course would be impossible as Jagat Seth insisted on all notes being either renewed or discharged when he balanced up his books in March. They informed the Council also they had been unable to wait for the lak of rupees and had borrowed the sum from Jagat Seth. At the end of the month they borrowed Rs. 60,000 more.<sup>233</sup>

On the same day the Company was brought into connection with Jagat Seth under another aspect—that of a minister of Alivardi Khan. The Nawab had just brought an expedition against Orissa to a successful conclusion and it was decided that the President should send a congratulatory arzdest to him on his return to Murshidabad with letters to Haji Ahmad and Fateh Chand on that occasion.<sup>234</sup>

In 1743 two bands of Mahrattas invaded Bengal—one from Patna and the other from the south. Murshidabad was again thrown into the utmost confusion and many of the inhabitants fled. Jagat Seth sent all his effects to Dacca and followed himself a day or two after. The Nawab and Haji Ahmad also sent off all their treasure to Dacca. Alivardi Khan faced the situation with his customary resolution and after buying off one party drove the other out of the province. The payment to the Mahrattas and the necessities of his own soldiers reduced the Nawab to the greatest straits for money and he began to fleece his people on all sides. Jagat Seth himself did not escape though what the Nawab had from him was not known.<sup>235</sup>

In August of this year occurred the second of the only two serious disputes that ever disturbed the friendly relations between Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and the English and as in the former case, neither party was much in fault. It arose out of the twofold nature of the trade in which the Company's servants were engaged. On the one hand they were trading for the benefit of the Company and on the other hand they were engaged in transactions for their own personal profit. This private trade was, of course, sanctioned by the Company and if the system had been equally understood at Murshidabad no harm, at least of the nature under consideration, would have resulted. But such was not the case. Indeed, up to this time it had always been the practice of the Company's servants to represent at the Durbar that all the trade was carried on

233. Bengal Consultations, 10th February, 1742-3; 18th February, 1742-3; 6th March, 1742-3.

234. Bengal Consultation, 10th February, 1742-3.

235. Bengal Consultations, 21st March, 1742-3; 7th April, 1743; 15th August, 1743.

Jagat Seth had returned by August, in fact his presence was indispensable. "It is wholly impracticable to raise money there (Cassimbazar)" wrote the Company's servants on the 6th June, "for never was so great a scarcity occasioned by the retreat of Futtichund and all the wealthy men towards Dacca." Bengal Consultations, 10th June, 1743. The Council notes on the 22nd August, "we observe the Nabob is endeavouring to reimburse himself some part of the great expense he has been at by fleecing Futtichund."

for the Company's benefit only and to deny that there was any kind of trade apart from that.<sup>236</sup> Therefore when Fateh Chand lent money to Sir Francis Russell, the chief of the Cassimbazar factory, he naturally, after the latter's death, claimed the money from the Company. Sir Francis Russell had, however, borrowed the money for his own private trade and so the President and Council did not consider themselves responsible for the debt.

On the 11th August John Forster, the chief of the factory at Cassimbazar, advised the Council "that Futtichund sent his Gomastah to the Chief with an interest note of Sir Francis Russell's for twenty five thousand sicca rupees and demanded payment thereof from the Company. The Chief answered him that the Mayor's Court of Calcutta had appointed some of their body to administer Sir Francis Russell's effects who were now engaged in collecting them which when done there would be an equal distribution made among all his creditors. Futtichund's Gomastah replied that his master knew nobody but the Company that he had sent the money into that factory and expected to receive it back from thence that he had served the Company on many occasions and would still continue his good offices if they did not give him cause to act otherwise that there were two ways of transacting this affair one by paying him with a good grace and thereby retaining his friendship or else by a refusal to oblige him to have recourse to methods that would be disagreeable to him and would break off all correspondence with them. The Chief told him that he would acquaint us with his demand and let him know our answer.

We will perceive by this discourse of the gomastah that Futtichund seems determined to have the money at all hazards and we are well acquainted with the great influence he has with the Government and as times are that they are fleeing on all sides and would doubtless be glad of a pretence to attack them it may be of the worst consequence to disoblige him but they refer it to our consideration and hope to have our orders thereon."

The Council held three meetings to consider the matter the upshot of which was that the Company's servants at Cassimbazar were directed to try and induce Fateh Chand to accept a compromise but if that were impossible to finish the affair on the best terms they could.

On the 11th September the Chief and Council at Cassimbazar reported that they had concluded the affair. "On the 8th," they wrote, "Futtichund's

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236. Sir Francis Russell owed money to other merchants who complained to the Nawab and Chainray was told to inquire into the matter. On this the English at Cassimbazar wrote "We apprehend the discussion thereof before Chainray will necessarily show that there is a trade carried on by the Hon'ble Company's Servants besides what is done on the Company's account which is what has been always denied at the Durbar where all the English trade is represented to be on the Company's account and they fear a conviction of the contrary may be attended with ill consequences" (Bengal Consultations 10th May, 1744).

gomastah came to the factory and again demanded the debt due from Sir Francis Russell. They represented to him that Sir Francis Russell's effects would be insufficient to answer his debt and used their utmost endeavours to persuade him to accept of a composition but he would on no account agree to it. The most they could bring him to was to accept of the principal sum of 25,000 siccas and to forego the interest that was due thereon being upwards of 3,500 siccas. They desired him to represent their request to his master and to get him to accept of 15,000 siccas which they were willing to pay to retain his friendship. On the 10th Futtichund sent again to them and desired they would finish the affair without further scruples for that he would not take anything less than principal. As we recommended to them to end that affair on the best terms they could and as it appears to them to be for the Company's interest to keep Futtichund in good temper they thought proper to dispute with him no longer and have therefore given him an interest note dated the 10th inst. for 25,000 siccas at 9 per cent. per annum on account of the Hon'ble Company and have received from him Sir Francis Russell's interest note for that sum of which they hope to have our approval. On their finishing that affair he seemed well pleased and sent back his gomastah to tell them that he hoped the mint would be opened after the Dusseray<sup>237</sup> and then he would let them know what quantity of silver they should send for."<sup>238</sup>

Omitting all further references to the commercial transactions between Fateh Chand and the English—to loans, payments of interest, repayment of loans and purchase of dollar silver—the Bengal records relate two more incidents in the life of Fateh Chand in one of which he appears again as the mediator between the Nawab and the English and in the other as the Nawab's confidential minister.

In 1744 the Mahrattas again invaded Bengal but on this occasion Alivardi Khan delivered the province from their ravages by the treacherous massacre of their general and officers to which allusion has been made on a preceding page. He had still however, to satisfy his own troops and driven by their importunate demands for money and not, it is fair to add, acting from inclination, he began to fleece everybody, high and low, merchants, rajas and even his own relations. From the Europeans he demanded two months' pay for his army which meant a sum of 30 lakhs and threatened to stop their trade if they did not comply with his demands.<sup>239</sup>

237. "Skt. dasahara, the "nine-nights" (or ten days) festival in October, also called Durga-puja." (Hobson-Jobson, p. 333).

238. Bengal Consultations, 22nd August, 26th August, 30th August, 19th September, 1743.

239. Bengal Consultations, 12th July, 1744.

The English sent their vakil to Fateh Chand to enquire why the Nawab had attacked them in this violent manner and to ask what he would advise them to do under the circumstances. He replied "At present there is no government; they fear neither God nor the King but seem determined to force money from everybody; I myself have suffered greatly by them; He advised them to write to the Council at Calcutta and by all means to get a speedy and satisfactory answer from them to the Nabob's demand and that they ought to make up matters with him in the quickest manner for delay would make their case worse." He promised that when they had got an answer from the Council he and Chainray would join in representing their case to the Nawab in a most favourable manner.

On the 10th July the English vakil was taken into the presence of the Nawab "who was sitting with his officers about him." The Nawab declared that when the English obtained their farman from the Emperor Farrukhsiyar they had only four or five ships but since that time their trade had vastly increased and he had received orders from the reigning Emperor to oblige them to pay duty on that increase for many years past—orders which he intended to obey. He reminded the vakil that he had formerly had occasion to complain of the assistance the English had given to the Mahrattas and complained that though he had excused them for that fault "yet they had never so much as thought of him or offered him so much as the hair of a horse's tail." The interview concluded with a warning from the Nawab that he would wait two or three days more for an answer from Calcutta but if it did not arrive in that time he would send forces on the factories at Calcutta and Cassimbazar and force the English to comply with his demand. The vakil then went to see Haji Ahmad who advised them to make the Nawab a proper offer. The same advice was given them by Fateh Chand who added that the Nawab would not be satisfied without a large present.

The Company's servants at Cassimbazar were permitted to offer the Nawab a present of between forty and fifty thousand rupees. On the 22nd July they wrote that in accordance with these instructions they "have offered by the means of Chainray and Futtichund (whom the Nabob has appointed to adjust matters with them) as far as 50,000 rupees for the Nabob and his officers upon which they told their vacqueels that the offer bore so little proportion to the Nabob's demand that they did not dare mention it to him. Their vacqueels alleged the injustice of the Nabob's demand and showed them how ill grounded his reasons were, they also represented to them the great expenses the Hon'ble Company had been at and the considerable losses they had suffered in the late troubles. Futtichund replied these reasons might be of weight at another season but that at present the Government was in

great want of money to pay the troops necessary for the preservation of the country and all the traders in it that the Nabob was taking money from every person in the province and expected a large sum from us; he concluded with advising them to write again to us to learn how much we were willing to give towards satisfying the Nabob's demand. On the 21st they again sent their vacqueels to Chainray and Futtichund with orders to learn if possible the Nabob's real intention, and what he expects. In this conference Futtichund told them they must not imagine the present Government to be like what they had known formerly when it had been in his power to soften them and bring them to easy terms for these people were violent, rapacious and deceitful and it was impossible to say how far the Nabob would go to attain his ends. Their vacqueel pressing to know what he thought the Nabob would be contented with he replied it was impossible to learn the Nabob's mind, that his demand was two months' pay for his troops which he valued at 20 Laack of rupees that it could not be supposed he would abate above half so that he would expect at least ten Laak from the three European Nations, that if we would empower him to offer five laack for our share he would use his utmost endeavours to get it accepted and that the French and Dutch had already agreed to pay such share as should be allotted them as soon as the Nabob had settled with us. To this discourse Chainray added that in case we offered within 40 and 50,000 rupees of the above sum he would endeavour to get it accepted. This is all they could get out of these ministers to be depended on but Futtichund in the above conference speaking of the smallness of the late offer told the vacqueels that they had to his knowledge paid a much larger sum in Sujah Doulah's time and bid them look into their accompts and they would find it so. As this seemed to be a hint whether accidentally or designedly dropt they examined the cash accounts of that time, and found in the year 1731 that there was paid to the Durbar by the means of Futtichund 184,500 siccas, the particulars whereof they enclose for our inspection. . . . It is impossible for them to know whether Futtichund hinted this as if the like offer would be accepted in the present case but from the violent measures pursued they are of opinion that a less offer would be rejected. . . . Their business is entirely stopped none of their merchants being suffered to bring any thing into their factory and they are every day threatened to have forces sent to surround them."

On the 27th the merchants at Cassimbazar wrote:—"Their vacqueels daily wait on Futtichund, Chainray and Hadje Hamet but all they can get from them is that when they are impowered to make offers then they can speak." The information they had received from the most influential quarters led them to the conclusion that the Nawab's design was "to fleece the whole country without having regard to any advantage he may expect from it in

future." Every person who was reputed to have money was seized and whipped until he disgorged his wealth while sums of 500 and 1,000 rupees were taken from "those who had not double the sum in the world." Three laks had been demanded from one of their merchants and Fateh Chand commenting on this had remarked to their vakils "If the Nawab will have three laks from one of your merchants what will he expect from you?"

The Council at Calcutta advanced to Rs. 1000,000 but when this offer was made to Fateh Chand and Chainray they pointed out that it was greatly disproportionate to the Nawab's expectations and declared they could not mention it to him. Had four or five laks been offered they would not have failed in their utmost endeavours to get it accepted but as the English were resolved to give no more than one lak all they could do was "to sit still and see what further measures the Nabob would pursue." Their fear was that he would proceed to violence. "As these ministers talk in this strain," the Company's servants wrote, "we are at a loss how to proceed." The only bright spot in their affairs was the fact that there was a division among the Nawab's counsellors "his old ones having advised him to gentle methods and his new ones push him on to violent measures."

The Company decided to send a petition to the Nawab in which it was pointed out that whenever a dispute had arisen between the Company and the Government it had been customary to refer their case to Fateh Chand and such officers of the Durbar as had a thorough knowledge of their affairs.

On the 7th August the English at Cassimbazar wrote:—"Their vacqueels waited on the Nabob with their petition. He laid hold of the part of it wherein they represented it had been usual to refer all disputes with Government to Futtichund &ca Mutsuddys of the Durbar and replied when did he deny the having their affairs accommodated by Futtichund &ca and turning to his secretary bid him carry their vacqueels immediately to Futtichund and Chainray and order them to settle with them. These ministers told the vacqueels that indeed the Nabob had ordered them to settle matters but how could they do it when the Nabob's demand and their offers were so widely different—the Nabob had abated nothing of 25 Laack and they had offered but one tho' they said they had of their own hands offered 50,000 more but that the Nabob would not hearken to it for that Mustapha Cawn had told him that he would get 25 Laack out of the English. Their vacqueels replied they might be well assured that they should never pay any such sum. Futtichund and Chainray then said the Nabob did not expect this sum from the Company and was regardless whether they gave the Laack they offered or not but he expected that we should raise the sum he demands among the merchants under our protection

and from the number of rich persons fled to Calcutta in the time of the late trouble and since the Nabob's circumstances at present are such that in order to pay the forces he has raised for the defence of the country after having expended the revenues of the province and all his own wealth he is now forced to take money from his own relations and servants he thinks it highly reasonable that the inhabitants of Calcutta and all people protected there who have hitherto carried on their business scotfree should assist him in this emergency by paying their share and he wills that we should tax them as we think proper, and if any refuse to pay the proportion we think fit to assign that we have only to send them to him and he will oblige them to a compliance. Their vacqueels represented this as unprecedented and that if we could not protect our merchants from the Government's demands it would be impossible to carry on our business. Futtichund said this was an extraordinary case and would not be brought into precedent besides how should we be able to avoid it. The Nabob had stopped our business there, at Patna and Dacca and all the aurungs by which means he had all our money and goods in his power and he would certainly plunder them if they did not find a way to satisfy him otherwise that he and his officers had come to a resolution of attacking that factory but was prevailed on by Hodjee, Chainray and Futtichund to forbear the attempt now but could not answer for what violence he might be drove to at last that the Nabob had actually sent for the merchants' gomastahs from all the aurungs and would oblige them to bring their goods to Murshidabad by which means he would not only get all he could from their merchants but also retain his demand on the Hon'ble Company which would occasion our loss on all sides. Futtichund concluded with advising them to get immediately such an offer from us as he might propose to the Nabob with some hopes of succeeding for on the present terms they could neither bring them nor the Nabob to an agreement."

The next day Fateh Chand and Chainray waited on the Nawab who asked them what they had settled in regard to the English. "They answered it was impossible for them to come to a conclusion as he was pleased not to abate anything of his demand of 25 laack and the English advanced nothing upon their one laack, upon which the Nabob remained silent." Whatever may have been the nature of the Nawab's thoughts his necessities drove him to declare that if the English did not comply with his demands he would plunder all factories "not that the Nabob would willingly pursue these violent measures," Fateh Chand informed the English, "or wanted by these means to enrich himself but he was obliged to get sufficient to pay the arrears due to his troops even at the risk of his life for the military officers were impatient and daily importuned him to give them orders to fall on them and the aurungs."

He urged them "if they had regard for the Company's money or goods or even for their own lives" to satisfy the Nawab.

Two days later Chainray said to the English wakil "The Nawab has acquainted Futeh Chand with his last resolution in regard to the English, which Fateh Chand will keep in his own breast and advise nobody of. It is now your business to let Fateh Chand know the utmost you will give. This must be large. Two laks will not be regarded. You should let no one know the sum you offer but Fateh Chand who by comparing what you offer with what the Nawab expects will have it in his power to be moderator between both parties and thereby enabled to bring the affair to a conclusion. . . . You are much mistaken if you imagine that at length the Government will hear reason for I must tell you, if you do not already perceive it that there is now no Government in Bengai nor hardiy anything of the province remaining but the name. The Nawab's Council are guided by the will of the soldiers who will not suffer him to spare even his own relations but oblige him to take money from all persons without distinction."

The President and Council at Calcutta held out till the end of August but on the 28th they directed John Forster, the chief at Cassimbazar, to finish the affair on the best terms he could within a limit of four laks. Forster settled the dispute for three and a half laks of rupees and on the 16th September reported to the Council:—"On the 15th Futtichund came to their Factory by the Nabob's Order and brought them Perwannahs for the Hon'ble Company's Business at Hughley Patna Dacca and all the Aurungs. . . . The Chief acquainting the Gentlemen of Council that he had been obliged to agree to the Payment of three Laack of Rupees and a half to the Nabob in order to the accommodation and Futtichund demanding Payment thereof as he had given a full Currency to their Business they were forced to desire him to lend them the Money at Interest which he readily agreed to and they accordingly gave him their Interest Note for Three Laack and Fifty Thousand Sicca Rupees. We will please to supply them when we think proper with Money to Pay off their Debts to him and others which now amount to 540,000 Siccas."<sup>240</sup>

By October all ill feeling arising from the dispute had been dispelled. On the 20th the Company's servants at Cassimbazar wrote:—"That day Futtichund came to their factory by the Nabob's order to acquaint them of his good intention towards the English and as a proof thereof he delivered to the Chief a letter from the Nabob under his seal to the President which he desired the

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240. Bengal Consultations, 15th July, 21st July, 25th July, 28th July, 6th August, 13th August, 18th September, 1744.

Chief to deliver with his own hand as he heard he was soon to go down and that a seerpaw and elephant were getting ready and should be sent to that factory within the space of four days to be forwarded to the President. They take the liberty to remark that this is there looked upon as an extraordinary mark of favour and will be expected to be received accordingly. The Nawab's mark of favour was received in Calcutta on the 5th December with appropriate ceremony and a compliment of fifty seven guns.<sup>241</sup>

A glimpse of Fateh Chand as the Nawab's confidential adviser is given in the Consultation dated 16th November, 1744 which run thus:—"John Forster Esq. acquaints us that when he visited the Nabob after having sat a short time with him in Publick he carried him into a Private Room with Futtichund and Chainray he then told him that by the advices he had received by his spies he Expected the Return of the Morattoes this Season with a Large Army, and that he should soon set out to oppose them, but as his people were not trained up to the use of Fire Arms as the Europeans, he desired Mr. Forster would supply him with 30 or 40 of our Soldiers and an English officer to Command them that it should be no Expense to the Company for he would give them such Pay as Mr. Forster should Stipulate he then said, he had one thing more to ask which was a fine Arab horse for his own Riding and that if there was one in Calcutta he desired he might have him." A horse was purchased for 2750 rupees and sent to the Nawab but the military aid was refused.

That is the last incident in the life of Fateh Chand of which there is any record. On the 28th December the Company's servants at Cassimbazar wrote:—"The 26th in the morning died Futtichund. He has left his vast wealth to his grandsons Moutabray and Sooroochund by whom it's supposed the business of the house will be carried on as usual. They believe letters of compliment to them from the President would be proper."<sup>242</sup>

The death of his two sons and the anarchy in Bengal which was a result of the invasions of the Mahrattas cast a gloom over the last years of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand but in the thirty years of his control of the banking house at Murshidabad he had raised it in power and wealth and make its name celebrated throughout Hindostan. His reputation as a banker among the Company's servants in Bengal was very high. The year before he died, under pressure from the Nawab, he reluctantly consented to buy a quantity of silver from the English and offered them a price for it but in the hope that the whole transaction would fall to the ground he suddenly lowered the price. This action of his came upon the English as a startling surprise for, as they said,

241. Bengal Consultations, 24th October, 1744; 5th December, 1744.

242. Bengal Consultation, 4th January, 1744-5.

Fateh Chand had always been most scrupulous in keeping his word.<sup>243</sup> His wealth made a great impression on the minds of his contemporaries. In the opinion of Holwell he was the greatest banker and the most opulent subject in the world<sup>244</sup> while the author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* declared that his fortune was past all belief. Orme, writing of Fateh Chand, says:—"There was a family of Gentoo merchants at Muxadavad whose head, Juggut Seat, had raised himself from no considerable origin to be the wealthiest banker in the empire, in most parts of which he had agents supplied with money for remittances, from whom he constantly received good intelligence of what was transacting in the governments in which they were settled. In Bengal his influence was equal to that of any officer of the administration; for by answering to the treasury as security for most of the renters farming the lands of the province, he knew better than any one all the details of the revenue; while the great circulation of wealth which he commanded rendered his assistance necessary in every emergency of expense."<sup>245</sup>

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243. "They have endeavoured to learn a reason for Futtichund's shuffling so unaccountably in this affair as he was formerly remarkable for keeping punctually (punctiliously?) to his first word and are informed by Roopchund his Gomastah with whom he is most intimate that he does it to avoid taking our Bullion which the Nabob presses him to bring into the mint, but that Atoulikan and Chainray having a large (larger?) state in the management thereof than Futtichund he is disgusted besides fears he shall be a long time in getting it coined for whereas he formerly had five days in the week to coin in he can now hardly have the use of the Mint for one day in the week and if the Mahottas should return (of which he has some apprehension) before the silver is coined it may lay (sic) long on his hands: he therefore tells the Nabob he can't get it because we ask too high a price and offers us a low price that we may not let him have it or at least delay the time till he can be more certain whether the Mahottes will return or not" (Bengal Consultation, 22nd November, 1743).

244. Interesting Historical Events.

145. Orme.

## CHAPTER 3.

JAGAT SETH MAHTAB RAI AND MAHARAJA  
SWARUP CHAND.

The letters of compliment of the President of the English Company in Bengal were sent to "the grandson of Futtichund deceased,"<sup>1</sup> that is, to Seth Mahtab Rai, as if he, and he alone, had stepped into the place of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand. In reality, the affairs of the house were administered jointly by him and his cousin, Swarup Chand, the son of Dya Chand, and so closely connected were they in all their dealings that they were commonly regarded as brothers. For a few years the names of Mahtab Rai and Swarup Chand are coupled together by the English when they record their transactions with the banking house at Murshidabad though sometimes habit proved too strong and, forgetful of his death, they still continued to record transactions with Fateh Chand and Fateh Chan's house, while, as has been pointed out, Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand persisted as the title of the firm for many years. Before long the actual names of the two heads of the house dropped out of use and they were usually referred to by Europeans as the Seths. To Seth Mahtab Rai alone descended the title of Jagat Seth though for some reason which cannot now be ascertained, he did not receive the farman of the Emperor Ahmad Shah confirming him in the title till the year 1748. His cousin, Swarup Chand, was ennobled with the title of Maharaja.

We have seen the condition of Bengal at the time of the death of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and this period of war and confusion so detrimental and hateful to peaceful bankers and merchants continued for seven years longer. Year after year the track of the Mahrattas was marked by plundered villages and blazing towns while in front of them the inhabitants fled across the great river to the comparative security of eastern Bengal. To Mahratta invasions were added revolts of Pathan soldiers of fortune whom Alivardi Khan enlisted in his armies. Alivardi Khan met all the dangers that menaced him with a dauntless spirit that brought success in its train until, in 1751, an old man worn out with the fatigues of war, he purchased peace by the cession of Orissa to the Mahrattas and an annual payment of 12 laks of rupees. In the annals of these years of warfare there is scant reference to Mahtab Rai and Swarup Chand but they played their part in the mustering of the troops and the marching of the armies with which Alivardi Khan faced his enemies year after year. They were admitted into the most secret councils of the Nawab, they were entrusted with almost all his financial affairs, whenever there was a prospect of

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1. Bengal Consultations, 15th January, 1744-5.

peace they were active in promoting it, and when war had to be waged they provided the means. At the time of Alivardi Khan's greatest peril to which a reference was made in the last chapter, when the ordinary resources of the province were exhausted and money was required for the pay of the soldiers they contributed "mighty sums" from their own fortune.

But though the historians of warfare have few occasions to mention the Seths the records of the English merchants in Bengal contain frequent references to them. At no previous period had the Company relied so much on the bankers at Murshidabad for the means of carrying on their trade in Bengal and never before had they owed such large sums to them. The reason of this is not far to seek. It was difficult to obtain money from any other source. The extortions of Alivardi Khan had driven most bankers and rich merchants to hide their wealth and profess poverty so that rupees became very scarce in Bengal. But the vessel of the Seths survived the storm in which so many were submerged though even they had to furl their sails, partly from the great scarcity of money, partly to keep the demands of the government upon them within bounds and partly owing to the many calls upon them from all parts of the province.

Most of the references to the Seths in the Bengal records at this period deal with the purchase of bullion and negotiations for loans. The two cousins agreed to take the Company's bullion but only at the price fixed by Fateh Chand in the previous year which was 203 rupees for 240 sicca rupees' weight of dollar silver and Rs. 2 As. 7 Pies 3 for ducations. In June, 1735 when the Company had 40 chests to dispose of the merchants at Cassimbazaar proposed to raise the price to what Fateh Chand had formerly paid for the Company's silver but the Seths absolutely refused to make any advance alleging "that it was not owing to them but the Government that the price was lowered."<sup>2</sup>

Probably owing to the falling off of trade in Bengal during these years of trouble the money sent from England seems barely to have sufficed for the needs of the factory at Calcutta so that the factories at Cassimbazar, Dacca and Patna had, to a great extent, to rely on the Seths for the means of carrying on their investments. In July 1745 the Company's servants at Dacca applied to Jagat Seth's house at that place for Rs. 50,000 but received the answer "they had neither sicca nor Arcot rupees." They requested the Council at Calcutta to induce Jagat Seth to order his gomastah to supply them with money "as no other shroff there can answer what they want," but when the Company's servants at Cassimbazar, acting on instructions from Calcutta, applied to the Seths for a bill of a lak of rupees on their house at Dacca the ban-

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2. Bengal Consultations, 8th January, 1744-5, 24th June, 1745.

kers' reply was that "they have no money there therefore cannot draw." Thereupon the Seths were asked to provide the money as an advance on account of the bullion they had received "which they promised to do as fast as they could get it minted for rupees are so very scarce they cannot pay them till then. They have yet taken away but thirty chests of the bullion and paid but fifty thousand rupees on the account which before the receipt of our orders they had employed. . . . They promise to send them fifteen thousand rupees in four days, which they shall immediately dispatch to Dacca and send the remainder when it comes in but if they can borrow sufficient they shall send it sooner tho' they despair of borrowing from the scarcity of rupees at the present time." On the 5th August the Company's servants were able to dispatch Rs. 50,000 to Dacca and the information that Mahtab Rai and Swarup Chand had ordered their gomastah at Dacca to supply the factory with Rs. 50,000 more. "However," wrote the Company's servants at Dacca on the 23rd, "upon applying to him he sent word he could not let them have any money which they represented to the gentlemen at Cossimbazar desiring them to supply them with the other fifty thousand rupees." The merchants at Cassimbazar applied immediately to Mortobray and Soroopchund to know why their promise of supplying Dacca factory was not complied with. They told them that they had heard from their gomastah that the reason of this refusal was that he had been much troubled by the Dacca Government about the value of sicca rupees and therefore would not disburse any more without fresh orders from them. They had sent such positive orders then that the sum wanted should be immediately advanced." On the 17th September the merchants informed the Council that the advance had been received. Meanwhile a week or two previously the new sicca rupees "had come out by the means of Futtichund's family."<sup>3</sup>

Again in October the Company's servants at Dacca applied to Jagat Seth's house for a lak of rupees and again the gomastah sent them word that "he had no sicca rupees" but "if they would get an order from his master he would supply them." When the English at Cassimbazar applied for this order the Seths assured them it had been sent to their gomastah "but as they have such large drafts upon them other ways the Gentlemen at Dacca must be content with receiving such sums as their gomastah is in cash to supply them with by ten or twenty thousand rupees at a time." However on the 25th October the Dacca factory received a loan of Rs. 100,000 from Jagat Seth's house there.<sup>4</sup>

In 1746 the factory at Cassimbazar was in difficulties and in April begged the Council to supply them with money. "For the most they can take up of

3. Bengal Consultations, 17th July, 29th July, 8th August, 31st August, 2nd September, 1745.

4. Bengal Consultations, 14th October, 28th October, 2nd November, 1745.

Futtichund and the other shroffs there will not be more than one hundred and fifty thousand rupees." The Council applied to the Seth's gomastah at Hugli "Who returned us for answer," they record, "that he is not in cash but says that he will write to his principals and advises us to write to them also to desire them to supply the factory at Cossimbuzar with what money the Chief and Council there may want." The President wrote to Mahtab Rai and Swarup Chand and the letter was delivered to the latter who said "he could not supply them with any money at present it being dispersed in many parts of the country but believed he should be able to do it in a month's time."<sup>5</sup>

At the same time the Company renewed two interest notes for sums borrowed from the Seths requesting them that the interest due on them might be added to the principal—a sufficient proof of the difficulties of the Company. These two notes with the interest added to them amounted to Rs. 272,500 and this sum was increased in a few months by Rs. 50,000.<sup>6</sup>

In May the Company's servants at Cassimbazar reported that they had borrowed a lak of rupees but the most they could hope to borrow in addition, was a further lak "for the scarcity of money is so great that it has been with some difficulty Futtichund's house has been able to pay for the bullion sold them; at least it appears to them that if they have money they don't care to produce it for fear of the Government." In July, however, all their efforts to take up money at interest had been unsuccessful and they were quite unable to carry on their investment. From Dacca came the same complaint. All the efforts of the English there to obtain money at nine per cent. were fruitless and the Council had ordered them on no account to borrow money at a higher rate.<sup>7</sup>

Luckily in October 70 chests containing 500,000 rupees' weight of silver were landed at Calcutta and the President wrote to Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai asking him to purchase it and advance two laks of rupees—a lak of which was to be sent to Dacca. As the country was in a very unsettled state at this time the President asked Jagat Seth to receive the silver at his house in Calcutta instead of at Cassimbazar as was usual. Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai agreed to take the silver but times were hard and his terms less favourable than those of former times. His gomastah informed the Company's servants at Cassimbazar that his master would advance what they wanted, viz., an order for a lak of rupees on his house at Dacca, a lak to send to Calcutta and Rs. 50,000 for their own use "provided they allowed him one per cent. on the bill to Dacca as customary and in consideration of his giving the Cossimbuzar price for the bullion which he

5. Bengal Consultations, 19th April, 23rd April, 3rd May, 1746.

6. Bengal Consultations, 5th May, 1746.

7. Bengal Consultations, 30th June, 21st July, 5th September.

said would sell in Calcutta for no more than 197 rupees and bearing the charges and risk of bringing it to Muxadavad not to be accountable for any interest for one month from the time the bullion was received in Calcutta." The President and Council wrote to the Company's servants at Cassimbazar when they received this news:—"We think they act the unhandsome part with regard to the one per cent. they require for their bill to Dacca. They must represent to them that we did not use to be treated in this manner by that family, Futtichund using to give us orders on his house at Dacca free when we were to receive the money from him, however if they insisted on it we cannot help it and must comply therewith and as they will expect not to be accountable for any interest for one month from the time money bullion was received in Calcutta. . . . it must be allowed of if they cannot persuade them to give it up."<sup>8</sup>

The year 1747 saw no improvement in trade in Bengal. In February the Dacca merchants informed the Council that they were quite out of cash and had no hopes of getting anywhere. An opportune arrival of 30 chests of bullion which were sent to Cassimbazar and sold to Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai enabled the Company to obtain an advance of a lak and a half of rupees from Jagat Seth's house but only at the expense of complaints from the Company's servants at Cassimbazar who wrote "the withdrawing this money from them when the debts there are so great and credit at the lowest ebb, when those who were clamorous before gave them on the arrival thereof no manner of disturbance what may not be expected when they see so large a part of what was sent them at once vanished and what the consequences may be we will best discover being fully persuaded themselves that nothing but the greatest emergency could occasion it." The Council pacified them with a promise to send more bullion but when this arrived at Cassimbazar the Seths could not be prevailed upon to take it away "on account one while of the troubles in the country and lately that the business of the mint was stopped though they have at length promised to send for it in three or four days and have given them to understand that for any more that may come up they will give no more than 201 sicca rupees per 240 sicca weight alleging by way of excuse to the imposition that the profit thereon is not near so great as formerly occasioned by rupees being made of finer silver than usual."<sup>9</sup>

In the latter half of 1747 the English merchants at Cassimbazar were in want of funds, those at Dacca were clamouring for a lak of rupees while the Nawab was also in the greatest distress for want of money to pay his troops.

8. Bengal Consultations, 15th October, 27th November, 1746.

9. Bengal Consultations, 21st February, 1746-7, 23rd March, 1746-7, 11th April, 1747, 23rd June, 1747.

From these known facts it is evident that the demands on the Seths from all parts of the province must have been enormous and it is not surprising that their terms of doing business became more stringent. With regard to the English Company they persisted for some time in refusing to give more than 201 rupees for 240 sicca rupees' weight of silver and complained to the President that it had always been usual at Cassimbazar to pay off the interest due to them at the end of the year whereas the Company were now in the habit of adding interest to principal and giving fresh notes for the whole amount.<sup>10</sup>

On the 10th August the Council ordered the Company's servants at Cassimbazar to use their utmost endeavours to keep up the price of silver and to represent to Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai in the strongest manner that it would not be worth while to bring it from Europe at the price he offered. "They well know that house must be kept in temper," the Council added, "therefore we direct that the interest of his notes be paid off and that they endeavour to get him to order the gentlemen at Dacca some money—if not a laack at least fifty thousand rupees as they advise us they cannot go on ..... without a supply."<sup>11</sup>

On the 26th the Council received a reply from Cassimbazar to the effect that immediately after the receipt of their letter of the 10th "Ruidass one of the Seats' principal gomastahs came there to demand the interest on their notes for two years past altho' they had some time before freely consented (upon their representation how useful it would be to the Company) to the renewal of their Notes with the interest added thereto which was accordingly done upon their assuring them the interest should be paid off on the arrival of the Europe ships. They can't help therefore concluding but that they must have some other cause for this unexpected measure taken than what avowed and what confirms them the more in this opinion was their lending them unasked twenty two thousand rupees to give the Nabob. Their being obliged to pay off the interest of these notes which has swept away the amount of the twenty chests of treasure puts them under the greatest difficulties as to the carrying on their investment which we must be sensible of from the small balances of cash and treasury accounts which come enclosed Agreeable to our orders they applied to the Seats for a laack of rupees for Dacca factory but could procure no more than a bill of twenty five thousand rupees which they sent the gentlemen there by express cossids the 17th instant. The Seats have at length agreed to allow two hundred and three sicca rupees for the bullion tho' Ruidass with much warmth asked how they could except it when to his knowledge bullion had been sold in Calcutta by the Company's merchants at one hundred and ninety seven

10. Bengal Consultations, 25th June, 9th July, 10th August, 1747.

11. Bengal Consultations, 10th August, 1747.

rupees ten annas. If this be true their late behaviour to them may easily be accounted for."<sup>12</sup>

The Seths consistently aimed at monopolising the purchase of all silver in the province and the fact that the Company had disposed of some elsewhere was certain to have caused great offence to them. The Company thought it advisable to furnish the Seths with an explanation of the occurrence "with which," wrote the Company's servants at Cassimbazar, "they seemed satisfied but we have not been able to prevail with them to lend us any more money tho' we have made frequent applications to them on that account and we despair of getting any from them or elsewhere till the arrival of some of our Hon'ble Masters' ships."<sup>13</sup>

A few days afterwards the ships arrived with thirty chests of bullion and on the 25th September the Council "having taken into consideration how to dispose thereof and Sent Mautobray having wrote several times to the President to discharge an interest note given in Calcutta being on his own private account we think it necessary to keep him in temper as we can nowhere sell our bullion but to that house.

Agreed therefore that five chests be set apart to pay off part of his interest note and that twenty chests be sent to Cossimbazar to be sold to Jugutseat's house and that they be desired to order us to the amount of ten chests of rupees to be paid by his house in Calcutta for the currency of our business here and that the amount of the other ten chests be used for their investment there and that the remaining five chests be kept for our use here." At the same time the Council wrote to Cassimbazar directing the merchants there to assure the Seths that a further large supply of bullion was expected daily "with which news they seemed well pleased and very readily agreed to pay for the bullion in the manner desired but said they could not think of giving more than 201 for 240 sicca weight" and in the end the silver had to be delivered to them at that price.<sup>14</sup>

In January 1748 the Council ordered the merchants at Cassimbazar to let the Seths know that the Company had one hundred chests of silver ready to deliver them either at Calcutta or Cassimbazar, out of which they were to pay themselves two laks of rupees in part of what was owing to them, advance a lak of rupees to the Cassimbazar factory, Rs. 50,000 to the Dacca factory and send the remainder to Calcutta.<sup>15</sup>

12. Bengal Consultations, 26th August, 1747.

13. Bengal Consultations, 28th August, 23rd September, 1747.

14. Bengal Consultations, 25th September, 9th October, 19th October, 1747.

15. Bengal Consultations, 25th January, 1747-8.

The President also wrote to Jagat Seth Seth Mahtab Rai on the subject but before the end of January the Nawab received news from Patna which nearly caused his utter ruin. Zainuddin Ahmad, his son-in-law, who was Governor of Behar, had foolishly taken into his service a former general of Alivardi Khan's together with 1,200 Pathans and these men had treacherously assassinated the Governor, imprisoned Haji Ahmad, seized the city, joined the Mahrattas and were advancing on Bengal. This news put an end to all business at Murshidabad.

The Bengal Consultations of the 8th February record:—"The President yesterday received a letter from Seat Mautobray in answer to what he had wrote to him about the Company's bullion wherein he says that he has been always ready to forward the Company's business and to take the Bullion off their hands and should do so now if it was in his power but the Accident which has lately happened at Patna has thrown everything into such confusion every one flying to save his life that he himself has taken leave of the Nabob and has got across the great River. That the Mint is shut up and he has no rupees to supply us with therefore desires to be excused doing any business till the Affairs in the Country are in a more settled condition."

Alivardi Khan's proceedings at this time of great stress have been narrated in the last chapter but in spite of the resolute manner in which he faced the crisis lack of money nearly brought disaster upon him. The Nawab resorted to extortion and by this means obtained a small sum but at the price of driving all the bankers remaining at Murshidabad out of the city.<sup>16</sup> The sum raised was quite inadequate for when he reached Khamrah, about twenty miles from Murshidabad, his soldiers refused to proceed unless they received a further payment.<sup>17</sup> It must have been at this critical juncture that Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai contributed the "mighty sums" spoken of in the *Seir Mutaqherin*. On the 21st March, a week afterwards, Alivardi Khan had crossed the borders of Behar. On the 23rd April he had gained a victory over the revolted general and on the 2nd December he was back at Murshidabad triumphant over all his enemies.<sup>18</sup>

In the same month the Governor of Hugli made a complaint against the English and this complaint caused a great deal of trouble to the Company until the matter was settled in the following October. England and France were at war and a King's ship had seized two vessels laden with goods belonging to Armenian and Muhammadan merchants of Hugli and containing besides presents

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16. Bengal Consultations, 26th March, 1748.

17. Bengal Consultations, *Ibid*.

18. Bengal Consultations, 2nd May, 5th December, 1748.

for the Nawab. In January, 1749 Alivardi Khan wrote to the Governor "These merchants are the kingdom's benefactors, their Imports and Exports are an advantage to all men, and their complaints are so grievous that I cannot forbear any longer giving ear to them. As you were not permitted to commit piracies therefore I now write you that on receipt of this you deliver up all the Merchants' goods, and effects to them as also what appertains unto me, otherwise you may be assured a due chastisement in such manner as you least expect." The Chief at Cassimbazar thought that the letter had probably been sent to appease the clamours of the Armenians and that the gift of a fine Arab horse to the Nawab would smoothe matters over. But the Nawab was in earnest. The Company's trade was stopped throughout the province. At Dacca the supply of provisions was cut off until the Company's servants, declaring that it was better to die fighting than starving, threatened to help themselves wherever they could. The factory at Cassimbazar was surrounded with troops and at length the English were compelled to come to terms. The Rev. James Long in his "Unpublished Extracts from the Records of Government" states that the English first tried to propitiate the Nawab through the Seths but the demands of the "two favourites" were too high—4 laks for the Nawab and Rs. 30,000 for themselves and adds "at last after much negotiation the Armenians expressing themselves satisfied the Nawab becomes reconciled, but the English got off after paying to the Nawab through the Seets 12,00,000 rupees."

12,00,000 is a mere slip of the pen for 1,20,000 but the allegation that the Seths demanded Rs. 30,000 for themselves is a more serious matter and quite incorrect. The statement made in a former chapter that the Seths never received a bribe for their services to the Company still holds good. Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand were naturally disposed to continue the friendly relations which had subsisted between their house and the English and to render help to the Company when difficulties arose with the Government. Two years before the Council record that Mahtab Rai had been "very assisting"<sup>20</sup> to the Company in their affairs and a similar dispute to the present one had passed away without any untoward consequences. But now there was a decided coolness between the Seths and the Company and though they took no active steps against the English in spite of the fact that the Armenians paid assiduous court to them yet they refused to speak to the Nawab on their behalf while the Nawab placed the whole management of the affair in the hands of two men named Hookembeg and Carooleybeg.<sup>21</sup> These were the "two

19. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 19.

20. Bengal Consultations, 28th August, 1749.

21. Bengal Consultations, 28th August, 1749.

favourites" whom the writer quoted above mistake for the two Seths. These were the men who informed the Company's servants at Cassimbazar that nothing less than four laks would satisfy the Nawab "but," said the latter, "on giving Hookembeg and Carooleybeg to understand no great sum on so unjust a pretence would ever be complied with and standing it out with them they have reduced it to two laack which Hookembeg and Carooleybeg tell them the Nabob will certainly insist on. But notwithstanding this they still believe that by standing out longer it may in time be brought down to one laack besides twenty five or thirty thousand to Hookembeg, etc."<sup>22</sup>

Signs of the coolness between the Seths and the Company have already been noticed. Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai had complained about the sale of bullion in Calcutta and of the failure of the Company to pay the interest on the sums they had borrowed. In addition a long dispute was going on at Dacca arising from the fact that one of the Company's servants there had died owing the Seths a large sum of money and though the Company held themselves resolutely aloof from the matter officially still the fact remained that their servants were involved in the dispute. Further the Company was very greatly in debt to the Seths. In September, 1749 the debt of the Dacca factory to the Seths alone amounted to Rs. 584,000<sup>23</sup> and though we have not a record of the debt of the Cassimbazar factory for this year their account with the Seths in the year 1751 was Rs. 512,820<sup>24</sup> and was probably larger than this in 1749. The Seths considered that a large part of the bullion which arrived from Europe ought to have been applied to the reduction of these debts and were extremely discontented when this was not done. At the very outbreak of the Company's dispute with the Nawab their servants at Cassimbazar wrote "The Seats are much disgusted at not receiving some of the money per "Bombay Castle" a great part whereof it seems they expected. They therefore presume a letter from the President to them with some excuses for what has happened and assurances given that they shall in some measure be satisfied by the next supply of money that arrives will they apprehend have a good effect and bring them into better humour." To this the Council replied:—"In regard to Futtichund we shall always be glad to serve him when in our power but as the sum that is now arrived is but very small we could not spare him anything from our investment that might be satisfactory and therefore hope he will not take

22. Bengal Consultations, 17th September, 1749.

23. Bengal Consultations 18th September, 1749.

24. "Since transmitting the Seats' Account Current with the Hon'ble Company they have prevailed with them to give up the Compound Interest on their notes for Siccas 512820-13." Letter from Cassimbazar in Bengal Consultations, 18th November, 1751.

amiss waiting a little longer as we expect a large supply very shortly."<sup>25</sup> The Company's servants at Cassimbazar reported that the Seths were not at all satisfied with the message they had received whereupon the Council directed them to assure the Seths that "we shall do all we can to keep up a fair correspondence with them by doing all that is in our power to serve them."<sup>26</sup>

This was in January. At the end of February the English at Cassimbazar heard that a ship had arrived with silver and wrote to the Council to remind them "of what they before requested in regard to their merchants but more particularly to the Seats to make them easy for upon them only they depend to be extricated from their difficulties."<sup>27</sup> 17 chests of silver were sent to Cassimbazar to pay to Jagat Seth but when they applied to him for help in finishing their dispute with the Nawab all he would do was to advise them that the quickest and cheapest way of ending the business was to pay the Nawab a sum of money for if they satisfied him the Armenians would have to be satisfied also.<sup>28</sup> In August the English at Cassimbazar proposed to send a Mr. Kelsall to the Seths in order to induce them to speak to the Nawab in their behalf but the Seths informed them they were disinclined to interfere in the matter or to admit of any visit till the dispute with the Durbar had been made up.<sup>29</sup> Thus it will be seen that the Seths practically held themselves entirely aloof from this quarrel between the English and the Nawab and they pursued this course until the dispute was settled in October by the Company promising to pay the Nawab Rs. 120,000. To pay this sum the Company were obliged to apply to the Seths.

"They had some days before," wrote the Company's servants at Cassimbazar on the 20th October, "directed the Vacqueels to wait on the Seats and sound them in regard to supplying them with what money they might want on this occasion but could never get a positive answer from them before the dispute with the Nawab was ended when they sent their vacqueels to them again to request they would advance the money. At first they made the greatest difficulty to comply with their request notwithstanding they assured them it should be paid out of the first money that came up. After representing to them strongly the ill consequences which would arise to the Company's affairs in case their business was not cleared immediately they (the Seths) sent Ruidass their gomastah there to talk with them further about it who complained heavily of our not having paid anything this season of the large debt the Company owed them at that factory notwithstanding so much treasure had been imported by the

25. Bengal Consultations, 19th December, 1748.

26. Bengal Consultations, 3rd January, 1748-9.

27. Bengal Consultations, 25th February, 1748-9.

28. Bengal Consultations, 13th April, 1749.

29. Bengal Consultations, 28th August, 1749.

several ships lately arrived and then told them they could not let them have the money unless they would promise to pay them three laack of rupees as soon as their boats come up. They told Ruidass that they could not answer this without first writing to us about it but if the Seats would furnish them with the money they had then occasion for they would write to us to supply them with as much as ever we could spare which should be all paid to them but this being no way satisfactory he then demanded of them to give up a bill of exchange they had on his master's house for twenty three thousand sicca rupees, the four chests of bullion remaining in their treasury and to draw a bill on us for two laack of sicca rupees which they agreed to on his promising to advance one laack and fifty thousand sicca rupees directly."

It is curious to note that in the bill drawn by the Company's servants at Cassimbazar on the President and Council at Calcutta the name of Manik Chand turns up again in the name of the firm. "This morning," runs the record, "we received a letter from the Gentlemen at Cossimbazar dated the 17th Instant advising of their having drawn a Bill on us for two Laack of Sicca Rupees (Rs. 200,000) payable at sight to Bidendass or order for value received of Seat Monickchund Seat Anunchund which they request us to honour.

The Seats' Gomastah now tendering the Bill of Exchange as advised of in the foregoing Letter.

Ordered the Committee of Treasury to pay off the same."<sup>30</sup>

During this year we come across, for the first time, the name of Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai's eldest son—Kushal Chand—who seem to have entered the firm at this time. On the 15th June, 1749, the merchants at Dacca wrote. "We have made the Seats' Gomastah easy for the present but with a promise of payment of their note to Seat Mowtabray Bauboo Coosalchand for fifty four thousand sicca rupees as soon as the expected shipping arrive and a currency is given to our business."<sup>31</sup>

We read of many more transactions between the Company and the Seats during the remaining years of the Government of Alivardi Khan but, with one exception they may be passed over in silence. On the 9th January, 1750 the Company's servants at Cassimbazar forwarded to Calcutta a copy of an order which "their vacqueels inform them the Seats have lately obtained from the Nabob which forbids all persons besides themselves from purchasing any silver or taking any Arcot rupees."<sup>32</sup>

Alivardi Khan enjoyed five years of peace after his treaty with the Mah-rattas and died in his 80th year on the 9th April, 1756.

30. Bengal Consultations, 21st October, 1749.

31. Bengal Consultations, 26th June, 1749.

32. Bengal Consultations, 11th January, 1749-50.

## 2.

The author of the *Seir Mutaqherin*, writing at a time when the son of Mir Jafar possessed but a shadow of the authority of former Nawabs, declared that men would hardly be able to believe the credit and authority enjoyed by Mah-tab Rai and Swarup Chand in Menagl during the time of Alivardi Khan. M. Law, the chief of the French factory at Cassimbazar, mentions the great respect with which they were treated by the Nawab. Like Fateh Chand they had great influence at Delhi. Their reputation in that city was so great that when the inhabitants heard of the revolution of 1757 which overthrew Siraj-ud-daula and placed Mir Jafar on the throne, they ascribed it entirely to the Seths and Rai Durlabh Ram while Clive, whose name was well-known to them, was a great captain whom the Seths had brought from very far great expense to deliver Bengal from the tyranny of Siraj-ud-daula.<sup>33</sup> If the wealth of Fateh Chand impressed the people of Bengal the wealth of the two cousins dazzled them. It was impossible to mention it "without seeming to exaggerate and to deal in extravagant fables."<sup>34</sup> The populace, to whom krons of rupees conveyed but a vague meaning, estimated the wealth of the Seths by saying that they could, if they chose, have blocked up the head of the Bhagirathi at Suti with rupees. 4,000 persons of all sorts, lived in their palaces. "All the bankers of their time in Bengal were either their factors or some of their family" and thousands of these agents acquired such fortunes in their service that they were able to purchase large tracts of lands and other possessions.<sup>35</sup>

One great source of profit to the Seths was the receipt of the revenue of Bengal and other payments made to the Nawab. It appears that they were entitled to receive ten per cent.<sup>36</sup> on all these payments and Scrafton estimated their profits from this source at 40 lakhs a year.

But there was a practice, peculiar to Bengal, which though a grievance to the inhabitants in general, must have proved a perennial stream of wealth to the Seths. Mr. Batson describes the practice in 1760, when Mir Kasim was Nawab. "The Nawab receives his revenues in siccas of the current year only, which are accordingly esteemed the only authorised coin, that is to say, the only coin a person is obliged to receive in payment; and all siccas of a lower date being esteemed, like the coin of foreign provinces, only a merchandise, are bought and sold at a certain discount called the *batta*, which rises and falls like the price of other goods in the market. This undervaluation of all siccas of a lower date than the current year being established, the

33. Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 118.

34. *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, p. 227.

35. *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, p. 227.

36. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. II, p. 278.

farmer of the Nabob's Mint and the Shroffs connected with him use various artifices to maintain it, that they may have an opportunity of buying up such undervalued rupees which they carry into the Mint and stamp anew; hence arises their profit, which enables them to give a yearly sum to the Nabob for the farm." Mr. Batson estimated that the charge of stamping the rupees afresh would be, if properly managed, not more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and considerably less if a large quantity of rupees were sent to the Mint. "By the shroffs connected with the farmers of the Mint," Mr. Batson meant "Juggut Seat's house, who have the privilege of coining and now stamping their money in the Nabob's Mint on paying to the farmer as I understand a duty of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., by this privilege and by their great wealth and influence in the country they reap the chief benefit arising from the abovementioned practice, which I have called an indirect tax, and the Nabob finds it convenient to indulge them therein in recompense for the loans and exactions he obliges them to in his exigencies of money."<sup>37</sup>

As their connection with the Mint at Murshidabad was so profitable to them they were naturally hostile to the establishment of a Mint at Calcutta which might possibly have diminished their profits. How hopeless it was, in the time of Alivardi Khan for the English to establish a Mint against the wishes of the Seths can be seen from the following letter, dated the 8th February, 1753, to Roger Drake, the President of the Council at Calcutta.

Hon'ble Sir,—As the directions to the Hon'ble the President and Council from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors for the establishment of a mint in Calcutta require the utmost secrecy, I have been obliged to use the greatest caution in the affair, but by all the distant enquiries I could make it would be impracticable to effect it with the Nabab, as an attempt of that kind would be immediately overset by Juggut Set even at the expense of a much larger sum than what our Hon'ble Masters allow us to pay; he being the sole purchaser of all the Bullion that is imported in this province by which he is annually a very considerable gainer.

However, that no means might be left unessayed to get so beneficial a privilege for our Hon'ble Masters, I have at last ventured to entrust and consult our vaqueel, who is of the same opinion that it is impossible to effect it here, but said his Master Hackem Beg had a son in great power at Delhie, who might be able to get us a Phirmaund from the King; but that this would be attended at least with the expense of one hundred thousand Rupees, and that on the arrival of the Phirmaund here it would cost another hundred thousand

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37. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 216.

Rupees to the Mutsuddys and Dewans of the Nabob to put that Phirmaund in force, and that this affair must be carried on with the greatest secrecy, that Juggut Set's house might not have the least intimation of it, but I much question whether we could get the mint for any sum with so extensive a privilege as our Hon'ble Masters want.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) WILLIAM WATTS.<sup>38</sup>

An article in the treaty made with Siraj-ud-daula in February 1757, gave the Company the right to establish their mint at Calcutta and this right was confirmed by Mir Jafar. At first, however, the Company found great difficulty in persuading people to accept the Calcutta rupees in payment. In January 1758, a European merchant, to whom the Company had to pay 11 laks of rupees, absolutely refused to take the Calcutta money and when the public notary was sent to protest against his conduct, he refused to admit him and the protest had to be nailed to his door. His excuse was that by accepting the Company's rupees his fortune was daily exposed to being curtailed from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 per cent. at the pleasure of Jagat Seth "who," he said, "has the sole management and direction of the current money of the country, and can always make it fluctuate in such a manner as he sees fitting and convenient for his purpose." When the Court of Directors heard of the merchant's conduct they ordered him to quit India within a year, "his behaviour appearing to be insolent as well as frivolous and tending to set an example of obstinacy and opposition."<sup>39</sup> But the military could not be dealt with in that manner and when they remonstrated on the same ground as the merchant the Company had to yield. Nearly two years later, on the 29th December, 1759, we find the President and Council complaining to the Court of Directors that "our Mint is at present of very little use to us, as there has been no bullion sent out of Europe this season or two past, and we are apprehensive that it will never be attended with all the advantages we might have expected from it, as the coining of Siccas in Calcutta interferes so much with the interest of the Sets that they will not fail of throwing every obstacle in our way to depreciate the value of our money in the country, notwithstanding its weight and standard is in every respect as good as the Siccas of Moorshedabad; so that a loss of batta will always arise on our money, let our influence at the Durbar be ever so great."<sup>40</sup> At length, in November, 1760, the Company obtained from Mir Kasim, whom they had just made Nawab, a

38. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 47.

39. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 138.

40. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 164.

parwana ordering their rupees to pass current and forbidding any person to demand a discount upon them.<sup>41</sup>

Another source of profit to the Seths was their transactions with the European merchants in Bengal. The English, French and Dutch all had dealings with them and these were on a large scale. We read of the Dutch borrowing Rs. 400,000 at the ordinary interest of  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. a month or 9 per cent. a year.<sup>42</sup> The French were heavily in debt to the Seths before the capture of Chandernagore by Clive in 1757. Orme says that their debt amounted to a million and a half of rupees. Some idea of the transactions of the English with Mahtab Rai and Swarup Chand has already been given while their successors sent in a claim to the English for between 50 and 60 lakhs of rupees. The inhabitants of Bengal firmly believe to this day that the Seths advanced large sums of money to the English prior to the battle of Plassey and that "the rupees of the Hindu banker, equally with the sword of the English Colonel contributed to the overthrow of the Muhammadan power in Bengal."<sup>43</sup>

The events which led to the overthrow of the Muhammadan power and the foundation of British domination in Bengal brought the Seths into close connection with the English. They were almost alone in their endeavours to dissuade Siraj-ud-daula from making his reckless march on Calcutta, they befriended the fugitives at Fulta, they earned the thanks of Clive for negotiating the treaty between Siraj-ud-daula and the English which left the latter free to deal with the French. M. Law, the Chief of the French factory at Cassimbazar, speaking with firsthand knowledge and from a bitter personal experience, affirmed that Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand were the originators of the revolution that overthrew Siraj-ud-daula and that without their aid the English could never have accomplished what they did. Unlike others they never played the part of traitors to the English nor, like others, do they appear to have stipulated for a pecuniary return for their services. After the death of Siraj-ud-daula they averted combination of Hindu rajas of Behar who would have risen to establish a Hindu government.<sup>44</sup> Throughout the government of Mir Jafar and his successor Mir Kasim they steadily adhered to the English cause and their friendship for the English was the crime for which they were put to death by Mir Kasim. These events will form the subject of the following pages.

<sup>41</sup> Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 227.

<sup>42</sup> Hill's Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. i, p. 32.

<sup>43</sup> Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. ix, p. 258.

<sup>44</sup> Hill's Three Frenchmen in Bengal, p. 120.

## 2.

One of Siraj-ud-daula's relations, Ghulam Husain Khan, the author of the *Seir Mutaqherin*, reflecting on the incredible recklessness, folly, and wickedness of that Nawab, saw in his elevation to the government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa a manifestation of the workings of an avenging Providence, who had minutely recorded all the excesses and crimes of Alivardi Khan and his family and had decreed that this guilty race should be deprived of an empire that had cost so much toil in raising. Siraj-ud-daula's mother, Amina Begam, was a daughter of Alivardi Khan. Zainuddin Ahmad, his father, was a son of Haji Ahmad, Alivardi Khan's brother. He was assassinated at Patna in 1748 by Pathans who had revolted against Alivardi Khan. Siraj-ud-daula's birth is said to have taken place at the time when Shuja-ud-daula chose Alivardi Khan to be Governor of Behar and the latter, struck by the coincidence and attributing his good fortune to the event, adopted him as his heir. Alivardi Khan's love for his grandson was like that of Jacob for Benjamin but it was as ill-directed and as fatal as that of Eli "whose sons made themselves vile and he restrained them not." Siraj-ud-daula was trained to expect the gratification of every wish, indulgence in every whim and unfortunately, when he grew up, the whole bent of his mind was towards evil. Gathering around him a band of followers like himself "he commenced a course of insolencies, infamies and profligacies; and either out of that ignorance incident to that age, or because of an ardor natural to his constitution, (although really it was because of his perfect reliance on his uncle's forbearance) such a course of life became in him his real character. This is so far true, that he was observed to be low spirited and melancholy, whenever he fell short of opportunities to commit his usual excesses and enormities; and they became so customary to him, that he acted all along without a grain of remorse, or a spark of recollection. Making no distinction betwixt vice and virtue, and paying no regard to the nearest relations, he carried defilement wherever he went; and like a man alienated in his mind he made the houses of men and women of distinction the scenes of his profligacy, without minding either rank or station. In a little time he became as detested as Pharaoh: people on meeting him by chance used to say God save us from him."<sup>45</sup>

The European in Bengal thought it impossible that such a man would ever become ruler of the three provinces, but Siraj-ud-daula was marvellously favoured by fortune. His two uncles, Nawazish Muhammad, Governor of Dacca, and Sayyid Ahmad, Governor of Purnea, who might have proved formidable rivals, both died a few months before Alivardi Khan. Besides many

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45. *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. I, p. 645.

people thought that Siraj-ud-daula would become more humane when he was Nawab and were encouraged in this belief by the example of his uncle Nawazish Muhammad, who had been quite as vicious as Siraj-ud-daula in his youth and had grown up to be the idol of the people of the province. The influence of Alivardi Khan, too, counted for much and this influence, combined with a judicious distribution of gifts of money, was exerted on Siraj-ud-daula's behalf so that, contrary to all expectations Siraj-ud-daula quietly succeeded his grandfather when the latter died on April 9th 1756.<sup>46</sup> The hope that the possession of power would work a change in the character of Siraj-ud-daula was doomed to disappointment. The first act of his government was to despoil his aunt, Ghasita Begam, who had retired to Moti Jhil with the vast treasures left by her husband, Nawazish Muhammad. She was suspected of attempting to set up the infant son of Siraj-ud-daula's younger brother as Nawab. Great changes at Court followed. The old officers of Alivardi Khan were dismissed and their places given to worthless favourites. Mir Jafar, who for years had been paymaster of the forces, had to give place to a Hindu, Mir Madan. Another Hindu, Mohan Lal, "the greatest scoundrel the earth has ever borne, worthy Minister of such a master"<sup>47</sup> was made Diwan. This man who became the chief adviser of Siraj-ud-daula, was the "sworn enemy of the Seths." Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and his cousin soon found that they were no longer treated with the great respect they had received from former Nawabs. "Siraj-ud-daula, the most inconsiderate of men, thinking it impossible that he could have need of these saukars<sup>48</sup> or that he could have any reason to fear them, never showed them the least politeness. Their wealth was his aim; sooner or later he would seize it." In less than a year Siraj-ud-daula found reason to alter his attitude to the Seths but it was then too late even if he had been sincere.

Before Siraj-ud-daula had been Nawab a month he had alienated not only the Seths but also most of the chief men at his court. They detested his character, they dreaded his violence and they could not bear the arrogance of his Hindu favourites who had been placed over them. Soon the principal men in the city "were only intent on finding out the means of overturning his power, whether by art, by force, or by treason."<sup>50</sup> Their time was to come but not immediately. The astonishing success of Siraj-ud-daula, first against the English and then against his cousin and rival, Shaukat Jung, the Governor of

46. Law's Memoir in Hill's Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, pp. 162-164.

47. M. Law in Hill's Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 190.

48. Bankers.

49. M. Law. Hill's Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 175.

50. Seir Mutaqherin Vol. I, p. 718.

Purnea, caused him to be feared as much as he was detested. Men said that his star was predominant and nothing could resist him. None believed this more firmly than he himself.

We would naturally suppose that when Siraj-ur-daula made war on the English he had some great grievance against them or at least some clear motive for attacking them which everyone would have recognised at once as the fundamental cause of the war, but when we seek for this unmistakable cause we are baffled. We can read what the Nawab said, what the English said, and what the world said, but the Nawab may have been concealing his true motives, the English could not agree and the world repeated what it heard from one of the former sources.

The Nawab gave his pretexts for the war in letters to the Armenian, Coja Wajid, and Mr. Pigot the Governor of Madras. To the former he wrote:—"I have three substantial motives for extirpating the English out of my country, one that they have built strong fortifications and dug large ditch in the King's dominions contrary to the established laws of the country; The second is that they have abused the privilege of their dustucks by granting them to such as were no ways entitled to them, from which practices the King has suffered greatly in the revenues of his Customs; The third motive is that they give protection to such of the King's subjects as have by their behaviour in the employs they were entrusted with made themselves liable to be called to an account and instead of giving them up on demand they allow such persons to shelter themselves within their bounds from the hands of justice."<sup>51</sup> To Mr. Pigot he wrote:—"It was not my intention to remove the mercantile business of the Company belonging to you from out of the subah of Bengal, but Roger Drake your gomasta was a very wicked and unruly man and began to give protection to person who had accounts with the Patcha<sup>52</sup> in his koatey.<sup>53</sup> Notwithstanding all my admonitions, yet he did not desist from his shameless actions."<sup>54</sup>

Mr. Becher and the Council at Dacca stoutly maintained that the protection given by the Company to Krishna Das was the cause of the war. Governor Drake and Mr. Holwell maintained as stoutly that it had nothing to do with it. Mr. William Tooke thought that the whole affair was a trap set by the Nawab to catch the English. Mr. Manningham declared that it was impossible to give any rational account of the origin of the troubles. When he was at Murshidabad with Lord Clive a careful enquiry was made into the

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51. Hill's Bengal in 1756-57.

52. Padshah, emperor.

53. House, factory.

54. Hill's Bengal in 1756-57.

motives of Siraj-ud-daula's conduct. His principal officers, the Seths and every other person from whom information was likely to be obtained were questioned without success. Mr. Sraffton, too, declared the source of Siraj-ud-daula's resentment against the English to be "one of those state mysteries that die with their authors" and adds "I have made it my study since our intercourse with the great men at court, to penetrate into the cause of this event but could never obtain anything satisfactory. . . . Perhaps it is a vain research to trace the motives of a capricious tyrant." On the other hand Mr. Becher said that Manik Chand and Jagat Seth in letters to Major Killpatrick asserted that the Nawab's anger against the English began on their protecting his subjects. These letters have been lost.<sup>55</sup>

As a matter of fact Siraj-ud-daula's anger against the English arose before he became Nawab. Like many others the English thought that a man hated as he was would never become Nawab. According to M. Law "they never addressed themselves to Siraj-ud-daula for their business in the Durbar, but on the contrary avoided all communication with him. On certain occasions they refused him admission into their factory at Cossimbazar, and their country houses, because, in fact this excessively blustering and impertinent young man used to break the furniture or, if it pleased him, take it away. But Siraj-ud-daula was not the man to forget what he regarded as an insult."<sup>56</sup> In addition Siraj-ud-daula firmly believed that the English were plotting with Ghasita Begam. He brought this charge against them fifteen days before the death of Alivardi Khan in the presence of Dr. William Forth, the surgeon of Cassimbazar and when Alivardi Khan, after enquiry, declared that he did not believe a word of what had been told him Siraj-ud-daula answered that he could prove it.<sup>57</sup> Alivardi Khan had observed with concern how prone Siraj-ud-daula was to quarrel with the English and this was one of the reasons which led him to say that after his death "the hat-men would possess themselves of all the shores of India."<sup>58</sup>

The facts about Krishna Das are these. Raj Ballabh, his father, who had been diwan of Nawazish Muhammad at Dacca, either fearing for the safety

55. Letter from Council, Dacca, to Court of Directors (Hill, Vol. I, p. 67) and to Council Fort St. George (Hill, Vol. I, p. 95). Letter from the Richard Becher to Council Fort William (Hill, Vol. II, p. 157). Holwell to Court of Directors (Hill, Vol. II, p. 7). Drake to Council, Fort William (Hill, Vol. II, p. 139, 146). Drake's Narrative (Hill, Vol. I, p. 122). William Tooke's Narrative (Hill, Vol. I, pp. 279, 280, 285). Manningshom's Evidence (Hill, Vol. III, p. 234). Becher to Council, Fort William (Hill, Vol. II, p. 160). Sraffton, *Reflections on the Government, etc. of Indostan* (1763), p. 55.

56. Law's Memoir (Hill, Vol. III, p. 162).

57. Dr. Wm. Forth to Drake at Fulta (Hill, Vol. II, p. 65).

58. Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. I, p. 690.

of his property or joining in a plot to entrap the English, informed Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory at Cassimbazar, that his son was going on a pilgrimage to Jagannath but as his son's wife was expecting to give birth to a child he requested Mr. Watts to obtain admission for his son into Calcutta until the latter's wife could proceed on her journey. This was done and Krishna Das arrived in Calcutta about the 16th March, 1756. Alivardi Khan died on the 9th April. About the 15th April Narayan Singh, a spy, came to Calcutta privately and in disguise, with a letter from the Nawab to the Governor demanding the surrender of Krishna Dass, his family and wealth. The Governor refused to receive a messenger coming in such a manner and turned him out of the place with disgrace. Thinking, however, that trouble might ensue he sent word of what had been done to Mr. Watts at Cassimbazar. Mr. Watts immediately wrote to some of the chief officers at the Durbar to prevent any complaint being made to the Nawab and the affair was seemingly hushed up.<sup>59</sup>

The final rupture between the Nawab and the English came about in the following manner. The Nawab's spies informed him that the English and French were fortifying their settlements of Calcutta and Chandernagore. As far as the English were concerned there was some truth in their report. As war with the French was imminent they had repaired their line of guns on the riverside, built a small redoubt at Perrin's garden on the northern boundary of the settlement and cleared out the Mahratta ditch. An octagon summer house built in the garden of a Mr. Kelsall was also reported to be a fortification. The Nawab sent a letter to the Governor ordering him to desist from carrying on any new works, to demolish the redoubt and draw-bridge at Perrin's and to fill up the ditch and immediately left Murshidabad to march against Shaukat Jung. The order arrived in Calcutta about the 10th or 12th May and Drake, without consulting his Council, at once sent a reply to Watts at Cassimbazar who was to forward it to the Nawab. Upon its arrival the vakil explained it to Watts who thought it a very proper answer and sent it on to the Nawab who was at Rajmahal. As soon as Siraj-ud-daula read the letter he became furiously angry, ordered troops to be sent against the factory at Cassimbazar and followed himself with his whole army. The factory at Cassimbazar was taken on the 2nd June.<sup>60</sup>

Drake's letter has been lost but he says that the substance of it was as

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59. Watts & Collett to Court of Directors (Hill, Vol. I, p. 100). Drake's Narrative (Hill, Vol. I, p. 120). Holwell to Court of Directors (Hill, Vol. II, p. 6), etc.

60. Watts to Council Fort William (Hill, I, 8). Drake's Narrative (Hill I 24). Tooke's Narrative (Hill I, 233). Holwell to Court of Directors (Hill II 8). Declaration by Francis Sykes (Hill I 163).

follows:—"That it gave us concern to observe that some enemies had advised his Excellency without regard to truth that we were erecting new fortifications; That for this century past we had traded in his dominions and had been protected and encouraged by the several Subahs, always having paid a due obedience to their orders, That we hoped he would not listen to any false representations, and that we depended on his favour to protect our commerce which tended to the benefit of his provinces, as we exported the produce of the ground in return for bullion brought into the country; That he must have been acquainted of the great loss our Company sustained by the capture of Madrass by the French; That there was now an appearance of another war breaking out between the French nation and ours, wherefore we were repairing our walls which were in danger of being carried away by the river and were not otherwise erecting any new works or digging any ditch."<sup>61</sup> The only explanation of the Nawab's anger is that he resented the hint that the war between the English and French would probably be brought into Bengal and regarded as an insult the insinuation that he was powerless to protest the English. Watts, however, thought that Narayan Singh might have taken this opportunity to complain to the Nawab of the treatment he had received at Calcutta.<sup>62</sup>

Whether it would have been possible to turn the Nawab from his purpose is doubtful. Messrs. Watts and Collett maintained that it would have been possible and that even when the Nawab had advanced as far as Hughli he could have been propitiated with a sum of money.<sup>63</sup> Omar Beg, one of the Nawab's officers, thought even up to the last that the Nawab merely intended to frighten the English and that all would be put right at Calcutta.<sup>64</sup> According to the Seir Mutaqherin Siraj-ud-daula treated his officers so badly that they were quite indifferent as to what might happen. Otherwise "this dispute might have been terminated by a few words in a conference, by the least of his ministers and commanders, without it becoming necessary to recur to force and to war."

On the other hand it is recorded that Siraj-ud-daula's mother, Amina Begam, tried in vain to dissuade him from marching against Calcutta. Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and his cousin also visited Siraj-ud-daula who had taken up his quarters at the house of Mr. Collett, the second at Cassimbazar. They represented to him that the English were a colony of inoffensive and useful merchants and earnestly entreated the Nawab to moderate his resentment

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61. Drake's Narrative (Hill I 124).

62. Watts to Court of Directors (Hill III, 322).

63. Watts and Collett to Council, Fort St. George (Hill I 58).

64. Dr. Forth to Drake (Hill II 60).

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61. Drake's Narrative (Hill I 124).

62. Watts to Court of Directors (Hill III, 322).

63. Watts and Collett to Council, Fort St. George (Hill I 58).

64. Dr. Forth to Drake (Hill II 60).

against them.<sup>65</sup> Siraj-ud-daula in reply referred to the many insults he had received at the hands of the English, they had detained his subjects who had wronged him and fled to them for protection and he went on to say "I have never forgot the behaviour of one of the Chiefs here. When I came one day to their factory with my mother I sent to let them know that we wanted to come in and see it. He refused it. This has stuck by me ever since."<sup>66</sup> The remonstrances of Jagat Seth were in vain "and that none might presume to divert him from his resolution, he exacted an oath from Jagutseat (who had always acted as mediator between the government and the Europeans) not to interfere or offer any argument to make him alter his mind. After this, no one dared to plead for the unfortunate English."<sup>67</sup>

On the 9th June, Siraj-ud-daula left Cassimbazar. He arrived before Calcutta on the 16th and on the 20th the place was in his hands. Those of the defenders who escaped death either made their way to the French and Dutch settlements or took refuge with the women and children on the ships which dropped down the river to Fulta. There they anchored. Those fugitives from Calcutta who had reached Chandernagore or Hugli began to make their way to Fulta and were followed by refugees from Luckeypore, Balasore and Dacca. For nearly six months a few ships and a dwindling band of men, women and children, almost destitute of the necessities of life, and stricken with fever, were all that remained of the flourishing settlements of the English in Bengal. Appeals to the French and Dutch for succour were unheeded for the Nawab had threatened those nations with destruction if they assisted the refugees with provisions and at first they had to rely for good on friendly inhabitants of the district who stealthily came to the ships at night. "It was a most melancholy sight," says one of the band, "to see such a number of men women and children, without a change of clothes, victuals or drink, and many obliged to be exposed to the inclemency of the weather day and night, the shipping was so much crowded."<sup>68</sup> The Governor fared no better than the rest—"no shift of linen for eight days until relieved by one of the pilots, and the deck was my bed, the comins of a hatchway my pillow, my sustenance rice half mixed with paddy, slain starved animals that hunger reduced me to eat, muddy river water for my drink."<sup>69</sup>

At the end of July Major Killpatrick arrived from Madras with about 220 men. By this time the refugees were somewhat better off with regard to provisions but on the other hand the place was becoming more and more unhealthy

65. Orme, Vol. II, p. 58.

66. Dr. Forth to Drake (Hill II, 62).

67. Scrafton, Reflections, p. 57.

68. William Tooke's Narrative (Hill I 297).

69. Drake to Council, Fort William (Hill II, p. 144).

as the rainy season advanced. Swamps and paddy lined the banks of the river and rendered it impossible to live on shore. The men suffered more than the women. All through the rains they died daily and Major Killpatrick's detachment was almost exterminated.<sup>70</sup>

Nothing could be attempted except negotiations. On the 15th August Major Killpatrick wrote a complimentary letter to the Nawab "complaining a little of the hard usage of the English Honourable Company, assuring him of his good intentions notwithstanding what had happened and begging in the meantime, till things were cleared up, that he would treat him at least as a friend and give orders that our people may be supplied with provisions in a full and friendly manner."<sup>71</sup> On the 22nd Omichand sent Coja Petrus and Abraham Jacobs to the Major with a letter recommending him to write to Jagat Seth and others. The Major did so but Omichand "did not think it right" to forward the letters and returned them. Warren Hastings, who had remained at Cassimbazar, also thought it unnecessary to forward Major Killpatrick's letter to the Nawab. At this time there were great hopes that Shaukat Jung, the Governor of Purnea, would defeat Siraj-ud-daula and some of the principal men of Murshidabad were in correspondence with him. In any case it was an inopportune time for negotiations as the Consultations of the Secret Committee at Fulta, dated the 5th September, will show:—"Yesterday came advices from Mr. Forth of the 2nd instant that by letters from Mr. Bisdorn from Cossimbazar, of the 31st ultimo, the contents of which Mr. Bisdorn desired him to communicate, he is informed that the Nabob of Purnea was appointed by the King Nabob of Bengal; that he was joined by another considerable Raja, and that he had begun hostilities and taken about 200 boats; that upon news of this Surajed Dowla had ordered Jaffar Alli Cawn and other principal officers to march with a force to oppose him, which they did, but returned on the 29th on account of a dispute between the Nabob and Juggersaat, in which the former reproached the latter for not getting a phirmaund and then ordered him to raise from the merchants three crore of rupees, but Juggersaat pleading the hardships of his already oppressed people received a blow on the face and was confined. Jaffar Alli Cawn returning upon this went with other principal officers and insisted on Juggersaat being set at liberty, but were refused, on which they declared that they would not draw their swords in his service till he should be appointed Nabob by the King."<sup>72</sup>

70. Major Killpatrick to Council, Fort St. George (Hill I, p. 192). Wm. Tooke's Narrative (Hill I p. 300). Hill Vol. III p. 87.

71. Select Committee Proceedings at Fulta (Hill I, 204).

72. Consultations of Secret Committee at Fulta (Long's Unpublished Records 75, 76, 77).

Subsequently the correspondence was resumed apparently without the intervention of Omichand for Coja Petrus delivered the letters to the agents of Jagat Seth and Coja Wazid at Hugli. He returned with satisfactory answers to Major Killpatrick. Until the arrival of Admiral Watson and Clive the English were freed from all fear of hostility or molestation from the Nawab's troops at Calcutta.<sup>73</sup> The English at Fulta seem to have been dissatisfied with the efforts made by Coja Wazid on their behalf for on the 23rd November the Council directed Major Killpatrick to write to Jagat Seth assuring him "that their dependence was upon him and upon him alone, for the hopes they had of resettling in an amicable manner."<sup>74</sup>

In truth there was never any hope of resettling at Calcutta except on such terms as (Mr. Watts hoped) Englishmen would never consent to.<sup>75</sup> Siraj-ud-daula had defeated Shaukat Jung and his belief in his star was at its highest pitch. The English were never mentioned at the Court of Murshidabad but with pity or contempt.<sup>76</sup> "A pair of slippers," said Siraj-ud-daula, "is all that is needed to govern them." He thought that their whole number in all Europe could not exceed ten or twelve thousand men and never imagined they would entertain the idea of re-establishing themselves by force. He expected them to come to him with a sum of money in one hand and the other held out to receive thankfully whatever he was pleased to give them.<sup>77</sup> The English, on the other hand, recognised that the immediate possession of Calcutta was useless to them for it was neither advisable nor safe to trust any of the Company's property there until they had a force sufficient to defend it against the Nawab. Accordingly Major Killpatrick acknowledged that the negotiations had answered almost all their intentions. They gained time and were supplied with provisions while they were obliged to remain inactive.<sup>78</sup> The correspondence went on until the arrival of the King's ships. On the 11th December Dr. William Forth at Chinsura informed the Council at Fulta that Jagat Seth and Omichand were still endeavouring to make up matters and at the same time he acknowledged the receipt of a letter from the Secretary of the Council with which were enclosed two letters for Jagat Seth.<sup>79</sup> Four days later, Admiral Watson and Clive arrived at Fulta and the negotiations were interrupted for a time.

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73. Petrus to Court of Directors (Hill III 365).

74. Consultations at Fulta (Long's Unpublished Records, p. 81).

75. Watts and Collett to Council at Fulta (Hill I, p. 61).

76. Warren Hastings to Council at Fulta (Long's Unpublished Records, p. 78).

77. Law's Memoir (Hill III 176).

78. Major Killpatrick to court of Directors (Hill II, 164).

79. Hill Vol. II 54.

But not for long. The Council of Fort St. George clearly defined the aim of the expedition which they despatched to Bengal under Clive and Watson. "We could not have resolved to engage our Honourable Masters in the vast expense of fitting out this armament," they said, "but with the hopes of obtaining equivalent advantages. The mere retaking of Calcutta should we think by no means be the end of this undertaking; not only their Settlements and factories should be restored but all their privileges established in the full extent granted by the Great Mogul, and ample reparation made to them for the loss they have lately sustained; otherwise we are of opinion it would have been better nothing had been attempted, than to have added the heavy charge of this armament to their former loss, without securing their colonies and trade from future insults and exactions.

"Should the Nabob on the news of the arrival of these forces, make offers tending to the acquiring to the Company the before mentioned advantages, rather than risque the success of a war, we think that sentiments of revenging injuries, although they were never more just, should give place to the necessity of sparing as far as possible the many bad consequences of war besides the expense of the Company's treasures, but we are of opinion that the sword should go in hand with the pen, and that on the arrival of the present armament, hostilities should immediately commence with the utmost vigour. These hostilities must be of every kind which can either distress his dominions and estate or being reprizals into our possession. We have directed Colonel Clive to apply to you, gentlemen, for a plan of such a treaty as you would recommend to be made with the Nabob."<sup>80</sup>

The sword and the pen were to go hand in hand but the power of the sword had to be displayed first for the Nawab returned no answer when Clive, on behalf of the Company, and Watson, in the name of the King, demanded the restoration of Calcutta and satisfaction for all the losses the Company had sustained. On the 29th December Manik Chand, the Governor of Calcutta, was defeated in a skirmish at Budge Budge and fled with a bullet hole through his turban. On the 2nd January, 1757 Calcutta was recaptured and its defenders fled. Some of them did not stop till they reached Murshidabad where Manik Chand assured the Nawab that the English who had just come were a very different kind of men from those whom he had beaten at Calcutta a few months before.<sup>81</sup> On the 10th Hugli was captured and destroyed to strike terror into the Nawab's troops and to encourage malcontents to side with the English.

80. Select Committee Fort St. George to Select Committee, Fort William (Hill I, 239.)

81. Law's Memoir (Hill III 179).

The pen, meanwhile, had not been idle. Probably before the capture of Hugli Clive had written to Jagat Seth and Coja Wazid—to the former as one who had served the English well at Fulta, to the latter because he was reputed to be the confidential agent of the Nawab in his dealings with Europeans. These letters have not been preserved but we have Jagat Seth's reply. It is dated the 14th January, 1757, and runs thus:—

"Your favour I have with great pleasure received and give due attention to the contents. You are pleased to say that the Nabob listens to what I may recommend, and hope I will exert myself for your good and the general benefit of the country. My business is that of a merchant, and probably what I may recommend that way he may give ear to. You have acted the very reverse part, and possessed yourselves of Calcutta by force, after which you have taken and destroyed the city of Hughley, and by all appearances you seem to have no design but that of fighting. In what manner then can I introduce an application for accommodating matters between the Nabob and you? What your intentions are it is impossible to find out by these acts of hostility. Put a stop to this conduct and let me know what your demands are. You may then depend upon it I will use my interest with the Nabob to finish these troubles. How can you expect that the Nabob will pass by or overlook your conduct in pretending to take up arms against the Prince or Subah of the country. Weigh this within yourself."<sup>82</sup>

Coja Wajid replied on the 17th January, to the effect that out of a particular regard for the English Company he had desired M. Renault, the Governor of Chandernagore, to accommodate matters between the Nawab and the English.<sup>83</sup> It was thought that these letters were written by the Nawab's order. They were sent to the Governor of Chandernagore who despatched two of his Council with them and at the same time offered his mediation.<sup>84</sup>

On the 21st January Clive replied to both letters. To Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand he wrote as follows:—

"I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write and have communicated the contents to the Governor and Council of Calcutta.

It is with great pleasure I find you so ready to make use of your interest with the Nawab to come into terms of accommodation, and to settle the troubles of this country. It would be but repeating to you what you have heard from all mouths, the devastation and ruin committed by Seraja Dowla on the English. It would be unfolding a tale too horrible to repeat if I was to relate

<sup>82</sup> Hill Vol. II, 104.

<sup>83</sup> Hill, Vol. II, 110.

<sup>84</sup> Clive to Select Committee, Fort St. George, (Hill II, 175).

to you the horrid cruelties and barbarities inflicted upon an unfortunate people to whom the Nabob in a great part owes the riches and grandeur of his province. No less than 120 people, the greatest part of them gentlemen of family and distinction, being put to an ignominious death in one night and in such a manner as was quite inconsistent with the character of a man of courage or humanity, such I have always heard the Nabob represented to be, and for this reason I believe it must have been done without his knowledge. Under these circumstances how can you except we should any longer defer our resentment. Did we not send many letters to the Nabob in expectation that he would have sent answers thereto and complied with our just demands? Did we not wait many days at Fulta without committing any hostilities? Did not the Governor of Budgbudge first declare war against the English by firing on the King's ships? What could we do but resent such treatment! Notwithstanding these just reasons of complaint you will find us ready to conclude such a Peace as I think both for the interest of the Nabob and of the Company, to which purpose I send you enclosed the proposals on which we are willing to treat. As you are a man of sense, you will easily see the justice of our demands, and use your interest with the Nabob to induce him to comply with them. In so doing you will get the name of a patriot and prevent the country from being made a scene of ruin and destruction. You should consider that the English are a great nation, and that a King reigns over them not inferior in power to the Padsha himself. What resentment will not his Imperial Majesty express when he comes to hear of the death of so many of his faithful subjects? You should consider likewise that the great Commander of His Majesty's ships is sent to represent him in person, and that I have the same power, as the King of England's officer, and have my commission signed by his own hand. I hope you will not think me vain in telling you that we have had as powerful enemies as the Nabob to deal with upon the Coast of Coromandel and been attended with success; the like may happen here. However I hope the Nabob will not reduce us to the cruel necessity of trying our strength, for after all success depends upon God alone, who will aid and assist the injured."<sup>85</sup>

In his letter to Coja Wajid Clive refused to accept the intervention of the French. "Your integrity and friendship," he said, "I can rely on and beg that you and the Seats will be mediators between the Nabob and us."<sup>86</sup> Britain and France were at open war and Clive did not think it fit to entrust the affairs of the Company to declared enemies, who would, besides, have gained great prestige in Bengal at the expense of the English if a peace had been con-

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<sup>85.</sup> Hill II, 124.

<sup>86.</sup> Hill II, 125.

cluded through their mediation.<sup>87</sup> Coja Wajid does not appear to have taken any further part in the negotiations.

According to Orme the Nawab was so exasperated at the attack on Hugli that the Seths were afraid to appear as friends to the English but deputed their ablest agent, Ranjit Rai, to attend the Nawab on his second march against Calcutta and ordered him to correspond with Clive. Through the whole course of the negotiations which ensued Ranjit Rai acted on behalf of the Company and was mainly responsible for the treaty which brought the negotiations to a close.

On the 25th January Clive thought that the Nawab was earnestly desirous of peace and hoped, in the near future, to be able to return to Madras with the prospect of "a slap at Bussy" on the way,<sup>88</sup> but on the 1st February he began to have misgivings. The Nawab with an army of 30,000 men advanced steadily nearer<sup>89</sup> and on the 4th Messrs. Walsh and Sraffton who had been sent to the Nawab at his own request, instead of finding him twenty miles off at Nawabgunge as they expected, found him at Omichand's garden within the boundaries of Calcutta. The reception of the envoys, too, was so unsatisfactory that Clive resolved on an immediate attack. At 6 o'clock in the morning of the 5th he entered the Nawab's camp in the midst of a thick fog. Clive expected this to clear off by 8 but instead of doing so it became thicker, the troops missed their way and so the action was indecisive. However the Nawab lost 1,300 men, five or six hundred horse with four elephants and decamped to Dumdum. The result of the blow can be seen in the following letter which Ranjit Rai sent Clive the next day.<sup>90</sup>

"I thought that the English were always faithful to their words and agreements, for which reason I interposed with the Nabob in your affairs and dismissed your deputies who could not properly settle the business they came upon. Therefore I wrote you desiring that you would send a paper containing your demands which I would prevail on the Nabob to sign. The Nabob agrees to give you back Calcutta with all the privileges of your phirmaund and whatever goods you lost at Cossimbazar or elsewhere, and will grant you permission to coin siccas in your mint at Calcutta or Allenagur, and that you may make what fortifications you please in Calcutta. Your conduct yesterday morning greatly amazed me and put me to shame before the Nabob. What passed between the Nabob and myself Coja Petruse will inform you; what has happened will cause no difference in this affair. If you want to accommodate matters

87. Clive to Select Committee, Fort St. George (Hill II, 175).

88. Clive to Pigot (Hill II, 133).

89. Clive to Secret Committee, London (Hill II, 206).

90. Clive to Secret Committee, London (Hill II, 237) and to his father (Hill II, 242).

send a letter to the Nabob with your proposals, and I will get them signed and send them back to you, with a sirpah, elephant and jewels. After this the Nabob will decamp and march to Muxadavad. If you think war necessary acquaint me seriously with your intentions, and I will acquit myself of any further trouble in this affair."<sup>91</sup>

Ranjit Rai had seized the favourable moment. There seems no doubt that Siraj-ud-daula was extremely reluctant to sign a treaty and all the evidence shows that he detested the treaty as soon as he signed it. Ranjit Rai is clearly anxious to impress upon Clive the necessity of coming to terms at once and no doubt Coja Petrus put this still more forcibly when he related to Clive what had happened between Ranjit Rai and the Nawab. Clive did not hesitate for a moment. He knew that if Siraj-ud-daula retreated (as M. Law maintained he ought to have done) he had neither the time nor the means of forcing him to come to terms.<sup>92</sup> He knew further that the delay of even a day or two might have ruined the Company's affairs, for the French were on the very point of joining the Nawab.<sup>93</sup>

The articles of peace were forwarded but the Nawab proposed to sign them in an evasive manner. A second copy was sent with a peremptory letter from Clive and these were signed on the 9th February. On the 16th Clive wrote to Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand:—"Omichand has acquainted me that you sent Lalla Rungeet Roy to attend his Excellence the Nabob for the procuring the peace of the country and the re-establishment of the Company's business and in all my proceedings I have never acted without his advice. The treaty has been agreed to and ratified on both sides in the most solemn manner. The signal kindness which you have shown in your endeavours to restore the currency of the Company's trade I have made particular mention of in my letters to Europe."<sup>94</sup>

When Siraj-ud-daula returned to Murshidabad after the conclusion of the peace he changed completely his attitude towards the Seths. Hitherto his belief in his star had been so overweening that he never imagined that the bankers were necessary to him. He had treated them with disrespect and even with violence. But the skirmish at Budge-Budge, the re-capture of Calcutta, the attack on his camp, the reckless bravery of Watson's sailors and above all the big guns of the ships had caused a feeling of abject fear to succeed his former feelings of contempt for the English and the fact that the English would

91. Hill II, 213.

92. Messrs. Clive, Killpatrick, etc., to Select Committee, Fort William (Hill II, 223).

93. Clive to Mr. Payne, Chairman of Court of Directors, (Hill II, 244).

94. Hill II, 224.

have no one but the Seths as mediators had taught him that they were men to be reckoned with. They had become, says Law, sponsors, as it were, for the conduct both of the Nawab and the English. And so, from the conclusion of the peace, instead of treating the Seths with disrespect he was extremely polite to them, instead of blows and imprisonment they received acts of kindness and instead of ignoring them he consulted them in everything. The Seths were not deceived by this. They knew that Siraj-ud-daula hated the English, and that the treaty which fear had compelled him to make with them filled him with feelings of humiliation and indignation. They argued that he must necessarily hate those by whose instrumentality the treaty had been concluded. By bribing those who had access to the Nawab and to whom he disclosed his inmost thoughts, their worst fears were confirmed. They found that the change in Siraj-ud-daula's conduct towards them was a hollow sham and that in his heart he had resolved upon their destruction.<sup>95</sup>

Siraj-ud-daula might have taken warning from the fate of Sarfaraz Khan. Even without the assistance of the Europeans the Seths could have formed a party and placed another Nawab on the throne but that would have taken much time and was fraught with danger.<sup>96</sup> It is impossible to say whether they joined the party at Murshidabad which had supported Shaukat Jung, the Nawab of Purnea, in the previous year. The absence of any evidence on the point in the *Seir Mutaqherin* renders it unlikely that they did for the author of that history was in the service of Shaukat Jung at the time and saw the letters which were received from Murshidabad. The character of Shaukat Jung given by the author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* also renders it unlikely that he would have been acceptable to the Seths who could hardly have considered him an improvement on Siraj-ud-daula. But so intense was the longing for a change that Shaukat Jung, bad as he was, would in all probability have succeeded in his attempt on the Government had he not ruined his chances by his own folly. M. Law looked back with regret to the chance the French had missed at this period. Three or four hundred Europeans, with a few sepoy, combined with the enemies of Siraj-ud-daula, would have sufficed to place a Nawab on the throne who would have been "to the taste of the house of Jagat Seth and the chief Moors and Rajas." They let the chance slip and "the rash valour of the young Nawab of Purneah, in delivering Siraj-ud-daula from the only enemy he had to fear in the country, made it clear to all Bengal that the English were the only power which could bring about the change that every one was longing for."<sup>97</sup> To no one was this clearer than the Seths for no one had

95. Law's Memoir (Hill, III, 185).

96. Law's Memoir (Hill, III, 175).

97. Law's Memoir (Hill, III, 173).

as good a knowledge of the English as they. But at this time the English were helpless at Fulta and the Seths had to bide their time. Their time came with the conclusion of the treaty between Siraj-ud-daula and the English. They knew Siraj-ud-daula's hatred towards the English and that a rupture between them was inevitable sooner or later. His secret but deep resentment towards themselves as the friends of the English caused them to discard the timidity which was natural to them and to do all in their power to hasten this rupture. The path which led to Plassey and all that Plassey was destined to mean in the future had its beginning in Murshidabad and not in Calcutta and it was the Seths, who more than anyone else, placed the feet of the English in that path.

The influence of the Seths at Murshidabad was steadily exerted on the side of the English in the struggle with the French which followed the conclusion of the treaty with the Nawab. On the 12th November 1756 the news reached Madras that war had been declared between England and France and the Council immediately wrote to Admiral Watson urging him to attack Chandernagore if he found such a measure practicable.<sup>98</sup> The letter was received in Calcutta on the 13th January, 1757, but an attack on Chandernagore was impossible for the result would have been an immediate alliance between the French and the Nawab and the English were not strong enough to cope with such a combination.<sup>99</sup> Proposals for a neutrality in Bengal between the two nations had already been received from the French and negotiations on this basis proceeded in a desultory fashion throughout January but on February, 9th, the date on which the treaty with the Nawab was signed, nothing had been settled. The English, therefore, were free to attack Chandernagore and Clive wished to do so at once. Ranjit Rai was sounded on the matter when he came to Clive with presents from the Nawab on the conclusion of the treaty but Clive received no encouragement from him.<sup>100</sup> He was, no doubt, thinking of the money which the French owed to the house of Jagat Seth and Watts also imagined that this would prevent the Seths from supporting the English.<sup>101</sup> Otherwise everything looked promising. The Nawab had declared in his letters that the enemies of the English would be his enemies and Omichand, who had accompanied Mr. Watts back to Murshidabad, brought a verbal message from the Nawab which Clive construed to be, in some measure, a permission to attack the French.<sup>102</sup> But just as Clive was about to begin his march

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98. Select Committee, Fort St. George to Admiral Watson (Hill, I, 301).

99. Hill, Vol. I, Introduction clv.

100. Clive to Secret Committee, London (Hill, II, 240).

101. Watts to Clive (Hill, II, 229).

102. Clive to Secret Committee, London, (Hill, II, 240).

against Chandernagore he received letters from the Nawab absolutely forbidding hostilities against the French, and declaring that he would assist them with all his force if they were attacked.<sup>103</sup> At the same time the Governor and Council of Chandernagore renewed their proposals for a neutrality in Bengal and the Select Committee at Calcutta thought it advisable to accede to these proposals rather than risk a rupture with the Nawab. A treaty was drawn up by the Committee and, on the 3rd March everything seemed to be settled when, at the last moment, Admiral Watson refused to agree to any neutrality until the articles of the treaty had been ratified by the French Council at Pondicherry and the whole proposal fell to the ground.<sup>104</sup>

Murshidabad again became the centre of interest to English and French alike. Mr. Watts was there urging the Nawab to break with the French. Clive and Watson were sending letters to the same end and the Admiral was, besides, speaking in alarmingly plain language about the fulfilment of the treaty the Nawab had made with the English. On the other side M. Law was pressing the Nawab to ward off the threatened attack of the English on the French by sending reinforcements to Chandernagore. Let M. Law himself tell the tale of what followed:—

“I used to go punctually every day to the Durbar, and I always left it with the most favourable answers. The Nawab gave the most formal orders in my presence and so I counted on a prompt and powerful reinforcement. The Nawab wrote many letters both to the Admiral and to Colonel Clive to persuade them not to attack us. “The wish of the Emperor,” he said to them, “is that foreigners should not make war in his country. I am bound to hinder such troubles. If you attack the French I shall be obliged to oppose you.” He received several replies. In some they seemed inclined to obey him, in others they were undecided; others again were decisive, they spoke as his masters; they summoned the Nawab to keep his word; they referred him to the treaty of Calcutta in which it was said the Nawab would regard as his enemies all those of the English. The mere mention of this treaty made the Nawab indignant and at the same time made him tremble at the experience he had of the superiority of the English arms. The English knew his weakness and made use of it.

In spite of this the reinforcements were ready to start, the soldiers had been paid, the commandant waited only for his marching orders. I went to see him and promised him a large sum if he succeeded in raising the siege of Chandernagore. I also visited several of the chief officers, to whom I promised

103. Nawab to Admiral Watson (Hill, Vol. II, p. 230).

104. Clive to Secret Committee London (Hill, Vol. II, p. 240). Drafts of treaty (Hill, Vol. II, pp. 259–263). Clive to Select Committee, Fort St. George (Hill, Vol. II, p. 266).

rewards proportionate to their rank. I represented to the Nawab that the siege was inevitable if the reinforcements did not set out at once, and I tried to persuade him to send off the commandant in my presence. All is ready, replied the Nawab, but before resorting to arms we should try all possible means to avoid a rupture, and all the more so as the English have just promised to obey the orders I shall send them. I recognised the Seths in these. They encouraged the Nawab in a false impression about this affair. On the one hand they assured him that the march of the English was only to frighten us and to make us subscribe to the treaty of neutrality, on the other hand they augmented his natural timidity by exaggerating the English forces, by representing the risk he himself ran in giving us reinforcements which possibly would not suffice to prevent the capture of Chandernagore if the English were determined to besiege it, and that this would also furnish an excuse for them to attack him. They managed so well that they undid in the evening all that I had effected in the morning.

I resolved to visit the bankers. They immediately started talking about our debts, calling my attention to the want of punctuality in our payments. I told them that was not the question just now, that I came to them upon a much more interesting subject which concerned them as well as us in respect to those very debts for which they were asking payment and security. I asked them why they supported the English against us. They assured me of the contrary, and, after much explanation, they promised to make any suggestions I might wish to the Nawab. They added moreover that they were quite sure the English would not attack us, and that I might remain tranquil. Knowing that they were well acquainted with the designs of the English I told them I knew as well as they did what these were, that I saw no way of preventing them from attacking Chandernagore except to hasten the march of the reinforcements which the Nawab had promised, and that as they were disposed to serve us I begged them to make the Nawab understand the same. They replied that the intention of the Nawab was to avoid any rupture with the English, and said many other things the only result of which was to make me see that in spite of their good will they would do nothing for us. Ranjit Rai, who was their man of business as well as the Agent of the English, said to me in a mocking tone "You are a Frenchman, are you afraid of the English? If they attack you, defend yourselves. No one is ignorant of what your nation has done on the (Coromandel) Coast. We are curious to see how you will get out of this business here." I told him I did not expect to find such a warlike person in a Bengali merchant, and that sometimes people had reason to repent of their curiosity. That was enough for such a fellow, but I saw clearly that the laughers would not be on my side. However the Seths were very polite and I left the house.

The conduct of the Seths was natural. They had everything to fear from Siraj-ud-daula, consequently they needed another Nawab, but the enterprise was difficult without as a preliminary destroying us or at least tying our hands. On the other hand we owed them a great deal of money; it was therefore natural that they should be disquieted at seeing the English march against Chandernagore. For which reason I am much inclined to believe at first that their threats were only to frighten us and to force us to conclude the treaty which they wanted. I remember a somewhat singular incident of this visit which confirms the truth of this idea. The conversation having turned on Siraj-ud-daula, on the reasons to fear him which he had given us as well as the Seths, and on his violent character, I said I understood clearly enough what they meant, that they certainly wanted to make another Nawab. The Seths instead of denying it contented themselves with saying in a low tone that that was a thing which ought not to be talked about. Omichand, the English Agent, and who by the way cried "Away with them" wherever he went, was present. If the fact had been false, the Seths would certainly have denied it and would have reproached me for talking in such a way. If the Seths had even thought it was my intention to thwart them, they would also have denied it; but these bankers, considering everything that had happened, the vexations caused us by the Nawab, and our obstinate refusal to help him, imagined that we also should be as satisfied as they were to see him deposed, provided only the English would leave us in peace. The Seths accordingly did not as yet regard us as enemies, and might well be speaking in good faith when they said the English would not attack us. But when hostilities were once commenced what were the Seths to do? To quarrel with the English was to ruin themselves. Was it difficult for the English to make them see their own interest in the capture of Chandernagore, to make them understand that when the great blow had been struck and the new Nawab enthroned we might be re-established? What hindered them besides from taking the debt on themselves (the English) if such an arrangement was necessary?"<sup>105</sup>

Law's narrative of his personal experiences may be taken as substantially accurate but the conclusions he draws from his facts are singularly unconvincing, in fact inconsistent with his own statements. That the Seths feared the Nawab and wished, like many others at Murshidabad, to remove him was true. That they had to face a possible loss of over Pound 100,000 if the French were ruined was also true. On the other hand, if they desired a revolution, as they did, they must, as men of business, have been prepared to pay the price. If they had organised a revolution themselves, without the aid of the English, it

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105. Law's Memoir (Hill, Vol. III, pp. 191-194).

would have been a costly and dangerous business, while if they looked to the English for help, as no doubt they did, they had to recognise the fact that the ruin of the French was an absolutely necessary preliminary measure. Law's supposition that the English induced the Seths to believe that they merely intended to frighten the French into signing the treaty of neutrality is incredible. Clive had meant serious business from the first and had never attempted to conceal the fact, least of all from the Nawab. In February he informed the Nawab that if he had not been ordered to desist from attacking the French he would have taken Chandernagore in two days.<sup>106</sup> The Nawab's prohibition alone forced the English to agree to a neutrality and the proposals for this came from the French.

The Seths were perfectly aware of the true facts. Hence, to consider the possibility of a quarrel between them and the English on the outbreak of hostilities is futile. It is accusing the Seths of not foreseeing the palpable consequences of their own acts. If they had been so much concerned for their money, instead of thwarting Law in every way, as he says they did, they would have hurried on the reinforcements and strengthened the French by every means in their power. Further, when Law speaks of an understanding between the Seths and the English, based on the enthronement of a new Nawab, he is anticipating events by some weeks. If such an understanding existed at that time then Admiral Watson's assertion about the sacredness of his word was an idle boast, no trust can be placed in records, and the compilation of history is a delusion and a snare. The Seths were deceiving Law just as Law deceived the Nawab and the English when necessary, and just as the English, with the exception of Admiral Watson, deceived those whom it was necessary to deceive. The standard of conduct among the men of that time was not high where politics were concerned.

It is strange how Law missed the true inwardness of the "singular incident" that occurred during his interview with the Seths. The next morning he learned how powerless he really was to thwart the Seths for when he saw the Nawab and acquainted him with the plot that was being hatched against him "the poor young man began to laugh, being unable to imagine that I could be so silly as to indulge in such ideas."<sup>107</sup> As Law entered into details he, no doubt, implicated the Seths. The fact was that the fate of the French was sealed and the Seths knew it. Whatever may have been the true feelings of Siraj-ud-daula towards the Seths he continued to consult them. Apart from

106. Clive to the Nawab. "I could have taken the Fort in two days. Your Excellency forbidding me to do it after everything was in readiness has put me to great shame" (Hill, II, 236).

107. Law's Memoir (Hill, III, 194).

that men who, according to Law, could find out the secret intentions of the Nawab towards them must have known that Siraj-ud-daula had been pondering for two or three days how he should reply to a letter from Admiral Watson which concluded thus:—"It is now time to speak plain, if you are really desirous of preserving your country in peace and your subjects from misery and ruin, in ten days from the date of this, fulfil your part of the treaty in every Article, that I may not have the least cause of complaint: otherwise, remember, you must answer for the consequences: and as I have always acted the open, unreserved part in all my dealings with you, I now acquaint you that the remainder of the troops, which should have been here long since (and which I hear the Colonel told you he expected) will be at Calcutta in a few days that in a few days more I shall dispatch a vessel for more ships and more troops; and that I will kindle such a flame in your country, as all the water in the Ganges shall not be able to extinguish. Farewel: remember that he promises you this, who never yet broke his word with you or with any man whatsoever."<sup>108</sup> The Seths knew also that while Law was talking to them Clive was actually in the neighbourhood of Chandernagore waiting and hoping for a letter from the Nawab authorising him to commence hostilities.<sup>109</sup>

The end came on the day after Law's interview with the Seths. In the evening a discussion took place in the Nawab's presence between Watts and Law on the question of a neutrality and the Nawab decided to write to the Admiral. Law indiscreetly remarked that the Admiral would certainly not pay more attention to this letter than to the preceding ones. "What!" said the Nawab, looking angrily at him, "who then am I?"<sup>110</sup> The wound to his vanity was the last straw. He ordered his Secretary to write to the Admiral. The Secretary was in the pay of Mr. Watts and wrote the letter immediately. It was brought to the Nawab, sealed and despatched. The last paragraph of this letter ran as follows:—"You have understanding and generosity: if your enemy with an upright heart claims your protection, you will give him his life but then you must be well satisfied of the innocence of his intentions; if not, whatever you think right, that do."<sup>112</sup> At the same time Mr. Watts wrote to the Select Committee expressly stating that the Nawab had desired him to inform them that if they were determined to attack the French he would not in-

108. Admiral Watson to the Nawab, 4th March, (Hill, II, 273).

109. Clive to the Nawab, 7th March, (Hill, II, 274). "By the time you receive this letter, I shall be as far on my way as Chandernagore, where I will wait without committing any hostilities against the French, till I receive your letter, which I hope will be satisfactory."

110. Law's Memoir, (Hill, III, 195).

111. Hill Vol. I, Introduction, clxii.

112. The Nawab to Admiral Watson, 10th March, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 279).

termeddle or give the French the least assistance.<sup>113</sup> These two letters were dated the 10th March. On the 14th Clive attacked Chandernagore and on the 23rd it capitulated.

In the weeks which followed we can trace two parties in Bengal with, at first, two distinct aims. There were, first, the English, who were pressing Siraj-ud-daula to carry out all the articles of the treaty of the 9th February and trying to obtain further concessions not included in the treaty. Above all, they were determined to stamp out the power of the French in Bengal which, now that Chandernagore had fallen, was practically represented by M. Law and his Frenchmen at Cassimbazar. The steady pressure brought to bear upon Siraj-ud-daula to effect this can be indicated by two extracts from letters written to the Nawab by Clive and Watson. "There wants nothing to fix the peace of your kingdom," writes the former, "but that you would deliver up to us the French with their effects, wherever they are to be found in your dominions; for remember my words Sir, let them take deep root in your mind, that whenever there are two such powerful peoples, the peace of your country cannot be lasting."<sup>114</sup> The latter writes, "I have already told you, and now repeat it again, that while a Frenchman remains in this kingdom I will never cease pursuing him." For three weeks Siraj-ud-daula held out but at length, says Law, "the redoubled threats of the English supported by the representations of the Seths, brought about what I never had never expected, I was never more surprised in my life than when, instead of seeing any result from the fine promises of the Nawab, I received his orders to leave the country quickly unless I preferred to surrender to the English."<sup>115</sup> Law left Cossimbazar on the 16th April, but to the great indignation of the English he was allowed to go to Patna.

The other party was composed of all those whom Siraj-ud-daula had alienated by his insolence, his violence and his tyranny. It comprised all the chief men of his court with the exception of those worthless favourites whom Siraj-ud-daula had made his chief ministers "a set of low rascally fellows who never look further in the advice they give him than for their immediate pecuniary advantage."<sup>117</sup> At the head of the party were Mir Jafar, Rai Durlabh Ram and the Seths. Before the fall of Chandernagore we read that Mir Jafar

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113. "The Nawab said he could not write, but desired I would inform you that if you was determined to attack the French, he would not intermeddle or give them the last assistance, he only requests to be informed of your sentiments three or four days before you begin upon action." Watta to Select Committee, 10th March, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 278).

114. Clive to the Nawab, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 305).

115. Admiral Watson to the Nawab, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 345).

116. Law's Memoir, (Hill, Vol. III, p. 602).

117. Scrafton to Walsh, (Hill, Vol. III, p. 342).

absented himself from court and lived retired in his own house.<sup>118</sup> This gave rise to suspicion in the mind of Siraj-ud-daula who, at times, was anxious to be reconciled to his chief general and at times allowed his anger and resentment full sway. On one occasion he had gone so far as to point cannon against the house of Mir Jafar. But it will appear from the history of the plot that Mir Jafar had not yet consented to take active measures in overthrowing the house of Alivardi Khan and did not at first, agree to the proposals of the Seths who wished him to replace Siraj-ud-daula as Nawab. Durlabh Ram was indignant at the superiority manifested by Mohan Lal. The causes of the enmity of the Seths towards Siraj-ud-daula have been sufficiently explained. This was the party that, by inciting the English to a rupture with Siraj-ud-daula, brought about his downfall and the efforts of the Seths were mainly responsible for effecting this result. They, according to M. Law, were the originators of the revolution and their support was a great factor in the success of the English.<sup>119</sup>

The records of the time and the testimony of historians all go to prove that the plot against Siraj-ud-daula had its origin in Murshidabad and not in Calcutta, that Clive was invited to save the people of Bengal from the tyranny of Siraj-ud-daula just as William of Orange was invited to save the English from the tyranny of James II and that the English came as saviours and not as aggressors. At the time of the fall of Chandernagore there is no evidence that the English had ever entertained the thought of dethroning Siraj-ud-daula. On the contrary Clive hoped that the capture of that place would attach the Nawab more firmly to the English and thought that it had really done so.<sup>120</sup> On the 30th March he wrote to the Nawab "I once more swear by the God that made me, that I will be true to all that I have promised, and that I have nothing more at heart than the friendship between Your Excellency and the English may last for ever,"<sup>121</sup> and again on the 10th April, "I further call upon Your Excellency in the most sincere manner to put an entire confidence in the English and to believe that they will never forsake you."<sup>122</sup> As late as April 19th Admiral Watson wrote, "Let me again repeat to you, I have no further views than that of peace. The gathering together of riches is what I despise; and I call on God, who sees and knows the spring of all our actions

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118. *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. I, p. 753.

119. "They are, I can affirm, the originators of the revolution: without them the English would never have carried out what they have." (*Law's Memoir*, Hill, Vol. III, p. 185).

120. "I am in hopes this last stroke will fix him." Clive to Pigot, (Hill, II, 303). "I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Nabob has wrote me a letter of congratulation on our success; and that this enterprise, so far from enraging him, has served to attach him more firmly to us." Clive to Select Committee, Fort St. George (Hill, Vol. II, p. 307).

121. Hill, Vol. II, p. 305.

122. Hill, Vol. II, p. 321.

and to whom you and I must one day answer, to witness to the truth of what I now write."<sup>123</sup> It is certain that on that date Admiral Watson had no knowledge of any plot against Siraj-ud-daula. A few days later he heard from Clive what was going on and wrote no more to the Nawab.<sup>124</sup>

Meanwhile the Seths had not been idle. On the one hand, says Law, they were exciting Siraj-ud-daula against the English. They expressed the greatest indignation at the demands the English were making whenever Siraj-ud-daula consulted them on the subject and urged him not to grant them. On the other hand they were continually pointing out to the English that the Nawab was insincere in all his dealings with them and would attack them at the first favourable opportunity. At times the Seths found themselves in a critical position. On one occasion, says Law, "in reference to certain demands it was necessary to show the Nawab a paper with the Seths' seal to prove to him that he had agreed to grant them. The Nawab in a rage declared that it had never been his intention to engage himself so far and accused the Seths of having betrayed him. The latter frightened at the storm threw the whole fault on their agent. The notorious Ranjit Rai was driven in disgrace from the Durbar, banished,<sup>125</sup> and assassinated on the road. It was said he had received two lakhs from the English to apply his masters' seal unknown to them. I can hardly believe this, this Agent was attached to the English only because he knew the Seths were devoted to them."<sup>126</sup>

How this atmosphere of mutual suspicion and intrigue gradually led the English to join the plot can be learnt from the correspondence of Watts and Scrafton. It should be borne in mind that Watts was the accredited representative of the English at the Nawab's court. With him was Omichand, who was at this time high in the favour of Watts for his apparent zeal in the cause of the English. Scrafton was at Murshidabad in connection with the affairs of the Dacca factory and had been instructed by Clive to observe how matters were going on while he remained there. He corresponded with Mr. Walsh who deciphered his letters and passed them on to Clive, but this correspondence was in no sense official and the whole responsibility of the affairs of the English rested with Watts. It should be borne in mind, too, that Chandernagore fell on the 23rd March, that from that date the English were exerting every effort to induce the Nawab to expel the French and that M. Law left Cassimbazar on the 16th April.

123. Hill, Vol. II, p. 346.

124. Clive to Admiral Watson, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 362).

125. This is a mistake. Ranjit Rai was alive after the battle of Plassey.

126. Law's Memoir (Hill, III, 208).

127. Orme, Vol. II, p. 148. Scrafton to Walsh, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 352).

On the 5th April Watts requested Clive to write to Jagat Seth and desire him to send his gomastah to Calcutta and order another gomastah named Baijnath to Hugli, "assuring Juggutseat Bigenaut may reside there with the utmost security and safety, that you have some little complaints to make against him, wherein in some affairs you think he has not acted altogether rightly, but when he, Judggutseat, is acquainted with them you do not doubt but that they will be immediately rectified." After the capture of Calcutta Baijnath had bought a quantity of goods belonging to the Company from the plunderers at half price. Watts promised to send particulars to Clive if he could obtain them and then he says "I think we may ask, though not demand, the difference between the price he bought those goods at and their real value."<sup>128</sup> It is not clear whether Watts himself wished Jagat Seth to send his agents to Hugli and Calcutta or whether he was writing to oblige Jagat Seth. The words of his letter will bear the former sense and it would certainly have been advantageous to have two reliable men like these to act as safe channels of communication between Murshidabad and Calcutta. However Watts gives no reasons for his advice to Clive and nothing further is mentioned about the matter.

That the plotters at Murshidabad were busy is evident from Scrafton's letter to Walsh of the 9th April.<sup>129</sup> The Nawab was still full of resentment at the treatment he received when Clive attacked his camp on the 5th February but at the same time he had a wholesome dread of the English force. His court was like that of the Ptolomy who reigned in Egypt when Pompey fled there after the battle of Pharsalia and "the Colonel should be the Caesar to act as Caesar then did, take the Kingdom under his protection, depose the old and give them a new King to make his subjects happy." Scrafton urges that they should proceed on some fixed plan with regard to their demands on the Nawab and above all that they should take measures in case a rupture should occur between the Nawab and the English. "Give Mr. Watts," he says, "a hint of this, the least encouragement, and he will set about forming a party in case of the worst," and adds "how glorious it would be for the Company to have a Nabob devoted to them." Scrafton evidently knew that there would be no difficulty in forming a party against the Nawab but at the same time it is equally evident that no such party had been joined by the English at this date.

On the 11th Watts wrote mysteriously to Clive "Omichund and I have had many conversations on a subject I did not know how to address you about. I opened myself to Scrafton and from him learn that Omichund's and my en-

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<sup>128</sup>. Watts to Clive, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 318).

<sup>129</sup>. Hill, Vol. III, p. 342.

deavours for yours and the Major's service will not be disagreeable."<sup>130</sup> But whatever the nature of these conversations may have been in the next paragraph of his letter he asserts that the Nawab was complying with his part of the treaty, though not so expeditiously as they might wish, and emphatically declared that nothing but an open and clear breach of his contract by the Nawab ought to induce them to rekindle the war in Bengal.

The next few days were days full of excitement for Watts who was urging the Nawab to give up the French to the English while Clive and Watson were writing to the same effect from Calcutta. These demands exasperated the Nawab but they also made him tremble. On the 13th, in the presence of Jagat Seth and others he threatened to impale Watts or cut off his head.<sup>131</sup> On the 16th the French had left.<sup>132</sup>

The next day Sraffton had a long conversation with Omichand who informed him that the posture of affairs on that date stood thus:—The Nawab believed that the English would never forgive all the injuries that he had done to them and consequently all their professions of friendship were insincere. The friendship which he pretended to have for the English was inspired by fear. His true feelings were shown by his actions. He had ordered the mouth of the Murcha river to be blocked up because he thought that the King's ships would come round by way of Dacca and attack him. He was keeping a large army on foot. He had driven the French from Cassimbazar but he had not given them up to the English and was keeping them within call. Jagat Seth, Ranjit Rai and several others had told Watts that when he had taken leave of the Nawab the latter had turned about and said, "I will have your head yet." Whenever the French had a strong force he would certainly join them and there were persistent rumours that Bussy was coming from the south. At that time, however, the Pathans were threatening to invade the province from the north. If this happened the Nawab would place his trust in the English but if this did not happen or if the Nawab deviated in any respect from his treaty Omichand recommended the British to break with him and set up another Nawab. Luttee, or Khoda Yar Lutf Khan, was the proper man to set up. He was of a very good character, supported by Jagat Seth and would join the English with 2,000 good horse. Manik Chand, the erstwhile Governor of Calcutta would also join with what force he could bring and all the great men of Murshidabad wished Siraj-ud-daula dead.<sup>5</sup>

130. Hill, Vol. II, p. 323.

131. Watts to Walsh (Hill, II, 330).

132. Watts to Clive (Hill, II, 337).

133. Sraffton to Walsh (Hill, II, 342).

Here we see the plot fully developed and the English invited to join it. Respect for the memory of Alivardi Khan had caused Mir Jafar to refuse the overtures made to him by Jagat Seth and the latter had to put up with Khoda Yar Lutf Khan, a commander of 2,000 horse in the Nawab's service to whom Jagat Seth paid a monthly allowance to protect him against all his enemies—even against the Nawab if occasion should arise.<sup>134</sup> Sraffton was eager to join the plot and chafed against the more cautious proceedings of Watts. His next two letters to Walsh narrate the progress of affairs. On the 20th April he wrote:—"Young minds cannot keep resentment long concealed; his heart broke out to-day. When our vacqueel went to him, the instant he saw him he ordered him to be turned out of the Darbar; as the fellow was going he overheard him say, "I will destroy them and their nation." Meer Jaffer was ordered to march and he would follow himself; when asked the reason he said "they are always writing me to deliver up the French; I will receive no more of their letters." But for God's sake let us pacify him for the present; things are not ripe. Omichund is gone to Jaggutseat. I know the intent of his sending for him beforehand; it is to communicate to him his desire that we should set up Lattey."—To turn our vacqueel out of the Darbar was to be sure the greatest affront he could put upon us, but he sent for him again presently after, but the vacqueel was come away. It is now morning and His Excellency is sorry for what is done."<sup>135</sup> On the 21st he wrote:—"My mind is continually on the stretch. Politicks interrupt my sleep and give me a downright fever of thought. Watts acts like a man who is conscious of the ill state of his affairs and keeps his books back that his imagination may have some room to flatter him, but that won't do for me. I do not fear the worst. The horse frets and bites and cannot bear the bit. How glad would he be to fling his rider, and give him a kick that might give full fling to his unruly passions uncontrolled. What farther proofs would we have? The army is daily increasing. In the fit he was in two days ago he ordered Meer Jaffeir to march, and promised him six lack the instant he advanced beyond their present encampment, and to make it ten if he was victorious; the next day he starts at the danger, countermands the march, sends for the vacqueel and gives him beetle. Omichand's sent for at night. "What shall I do to satisfy the English? Let me know their demands and I will comply with it for I want to march to the northward".....I believe there's a damn'd flat gust of wind come from the north, which he must meet, but neither will he take us with him nor place the least confidence in us; his mistrust of us is carried to extreme. He is cutting down Placy grove to

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134. Stewart, *History of Bengal* p. 521.

135. Hill, II, 349.

stop the river that way, and he is flinging up the sand to prevent the water entering this river, at any rate lest our ships should come up. Oh the fool! Finish he must before he goes, so that he will either pay us or fight us in few days."<sup>136</sup>

On the 23rd Watts warned Clive to be prepared for the worst. The Nawab was in heart their bitter enemy and would attack them in conjunction with the French as soon as his apprehensions of the Pathans were removed. But he adds "Though I am sensible how absolutely necessary it is to have a Nawab attached to our interest (which this man will never be) in order to keep the French from re-establishing in this province yet I think we ought to temporize and pacify the Nawab for the present and appear to give over all thoughts of war till the French are marched to a distance, till the Pytans are advanced nearer and till some schemes which Omichund and I hope to effect are ripe for execution, which we shall advise you of, but you may have your carriage, oxen and all necessaries privately prepared to be ready to march at an hour's warning." Before despatching this letter Watts sent Omichand to Khoda Yar Lutf Khan and entered into an engagement with him. It was arranged that whenever the Nawab broke with the English Yar Lutf Khan was to join them with his whole force and the English were to make him Nawab.<sup>137</sup>

Obviously this engagement would only come into effect if the Nawab committed some overt act against the English and pleased neither Sraffton, nor Omichand nor the malcontents at Murshidabad who advocated the adoption of bolder measures. On the 24th Sraffton, who had hitherto addressed all his letters to Mr. Walsh, thought he was now justified in corresponding with Clive direct. He recapitulates all his reasons for distrusting the Nawab and proceeds:—"Watts has never dared to write all this, and when I told him my mind he told me I wanted to embroil affairs, but now it is too apparent to be concealed. Omichund was glad to find one that has the spirit to think of resistance; Omichund's mind is big with some great project. He told me yesterday he was bound to secrecy, but to keep ourselves in readiness and when matters were ripe he would let you know. I can give a pretty good guess; it is in conjunction with Jagatseat to set up Lattee. There is to be a hundred men at Cossimbuzar who are to join Lattee and storm the Nawab while at that very instant you are to begin your march and when you come near the army you will be joined by some of the principal jemidars. Omichund wants to have the whole honour to himself and cannot bear that anyone should interfere."<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136.</sup> Hill, II, 351.

<sup>137.</sup> Watts to Clive (Hill, II, 353).

<sup>138.</sup> Hill II, 357.

Scrafton, who was without responsibilities, hardly appreciated the difficulties of Watts who was answerable for the measures he advocated. Watts felt some doubt about the success of the "Lattey-" scheme—at least he dropped it without hesitation for one which he calls a more feasible one. Then there was the treaty which had been made with the Nawab and Watts agreed with Clive that the Nawab's behaviour made it very difficult to know what measures should be pursued. Jagat Seth, Ranjit Rai, Omichand and many others maintained that the Nawab would break the treaty when Clive and Admiral Watson left Bengal or when he received assistance from the French. On the other side he was complying with his contract and granting the English whatever they asked within the compass of his agreement. The main source of contention between the Nawab and the English—the attack on the French—had nothing to do with the articles of peace and the Nawab was not bound to deliver them up to the English. It was true that the Nawab had said that the enemies of the English were his enemies also but this was said in a private letter and not mentioned in the agreement while on the other hand it was distinctly mentioned that the English were not to make war in Bengal while the Nawab remained faithful to the treaty. These were the difficulties of Watts as stated in a letter to Clive of the 26th April<sup>139</sup> and having stated the difficulties he proceeded to solve them—

Since the quarrel

Will bear no colour for the thing he is,  
Fashion it thus: that what he is, augmented,  
Would run to these and these extremities:  
And therefore think him as a serpent's egg  
Which, hatch'd, would, as his kind, grow mischievous,  
And kill him in the shell.

"When we consider," says Mr. Watts, "there is no dependence on the Nawab that he is secretly our enemy and that we have almost positive assurances of the French being in his pay and have great reason to believe he will join them on the first occasion, which junction must be fatal to our affairs here, prudence certainly requires us to guard against such an accident. Watts then proceeded to inform Clive that he had received overtures from Mir Jafar through Khoja Petrus the Armenian. The message of Mir Jafar was to the effect that the Nawab was generally disliked, that he ill-used and affronted everybody, that he, himself, expected assassination every time he went to visit the Nawab and therefore always had his son and forces in readiness and that he was persuaded that the Nawab would not keep his agreement. Therefore he and others were ready and willing to join their forces, seize the Nawab and set up another

person who might be approved of. "If you approve of this scheme," wrote Watts, "which is more feasible than the other I wrote about, he requests you will write your proposals of what money, what land you want, or what treaties you will engage in. When I receive your answer I shall endeavour to have a meeting with him, and inform you of the particulars of his scheme, proposals and demands."<sup>140</sup> On the 28th Watts wrote to Clive again,<sup>141</sup> "The Nabob will not keep his Agreement; this you depend on.....Mr. Jafar's proposals of joining us I beg you will answer immediately, when I shall make a firm agreement; therefore send me your proposals and when you receive my letter then be ready to march. The Pytans are returned and the troubles.....are over. Upon this the Nabob is very uppish. The three fourths of the army are his enemies. When the agreement with Meir Jaffeir is settled we cannot have a man more powerful. There is none equal to him."

One other incident of these days before the English had committed themselves to participation in the plot may be found in the records. On the 28th April Scrafton relates a conversation he had had with Omichand. He says to Clive "I showed Omichund your letter. He said it was by no means fit we should be seen together; he was much suspected, I more. I told him what I feared from Watts' timorous temper:—

"Fear nothing, in four days I will send Hazardemul and my family as hostages for my fidelity. I will establish a cypher with him, and he shall acquaint you with all the particulars."

I begged of him to communicate the whole to me; he said No, he had given his oath" for which I am accountable to God, but Luttee is not the man, another firmly supported by Jaggutseat."

"Are you firm to this, if approved?"

"Yes."

"Shall I go straight down."

"No;; it will alarm greatly. By no means go to Dacca. Stay a day and they overland."

"Will Jaggutseat persevere?"

Yes; he is taking proper measures to send away his women, and you may be assured of a part of his army going over to you. You might communicate your terms to Hazardemul. The Nabob's army is at least half a lack strong."

Now Sir, had I twenty four hours conversation with you I could say no more. The 10th I am with you. It is high time for me to be gone. Watts is damned jealous of me, and I am watched as a cat does a mouse."<sup>142</sup>

140. Hill, II, 363.

141. Hill, II, 366.

142. Hill, III, 345.

The scene now changes to Calcutta. Clive had been closely following the course of events at Murshidabad. He had been greatly impressed by the letters from Sraffton and on the 26th April had written to Admiral Watson "there is such confusion and discontent at Muxadavad from the Nabob's weak conduct and tyranny, that I have received certain advice of several great men, among whom are Juggut Seat and Meer Jaffier, being in league together to cut him off, and set up Murgodaunyer Cawn Luttee, a man of great family, power and riches, supported tooth and nail by Juggut Seat.....You may be assured, Sir, some great revolution will happen before long and I hope much to the advantage of the Company."<sup>143</sup> On the 28th April he informed Watts that if the Nawab was resolved to sacrifice them they must avoid it by striking the first blow. He asked for more information about Luttee and recommended Watts to be cautious in committing the English to any definite engagement. Finally he hoped the report was true that Mir Jafar wanted to get rid of the Nawab. The report was true and Clive decided that the time for action had come.<sup>144</sup>

On the 1st May the Select Committee took into consideration whether they could, consistently with the Peace made with the Nawab, concur in the measures proposed by Mir Jafar to depose Siraj-ud-daula and make himself Nawab. After weighing the matter maturely the Committee "were unanimously of opinion that there could be no dependance on this Nabob's word, honour, and friendship, and that a revolution in the Government would be extremely for the advantage of the Company's affairs." Their reasons for coming to this conclusion were three. First it was clear that the Nawab had made a treaty with them merely to extricate himself from the danger which threatened him at the time. Secondly they had reason to believe that he would break the treaty at the first favourable opportunity. Common prudence therefore obliged them to prevent their own ruin. Lastly, "the Nabob is so universally hated by all sorts and degrees of men; the affection of the army is so much alienated from him by his ill usage of the officers, and a revolution so generally wished, for, that it is probable the step will be attempted (and successfully too) whether we give our assistance or not. In this case we think it would be a great error in politics to remain idle and unconcerned spectators of an event, wherein by engaging as allies to the person designed to be set up we may benefit our Employers and the community very considerably, do a general good, and effectually traverse the designs of the French and possibly keep them entirely out of these dominions; this we have reason to expect *as our assistance is courted, and the support of our troops wanted* to countenance and settle the new Subah in his Government."<sup>145</sup>

143. Hill, II, 362.

144. Clive to Watts (Hill, II, 366).

145. Select Committee Proceedings (Hill, II, 370, 371).

The next day Clive sent the English proposals to Watts at Murshidabad and said he might enter upon business with Mir Jafar as soon as he pleased. He himself engaged to be at Nyaserai, the rendezvous of the army, twelve hours after hearing from Watts, while Major Killpatrick, who commanded at Calcutta, was all ready to embark at a minute's warning. "Tell Mir Jafar," he added, "to fear nothing, that I will join him with 5,000 men who never turned their backs."<sup>146</sup> However more than a month elapsed before the treaty was signed and Clive could set out on his march to Murshidabad.

First of all Omichand caused trouble. Mir Jafar and the Seths were anxious to keep him in ignorance of the change that had been made in the plot but Omichand knew more than they were aware of and Watts was forced to take him into his confidence.<sup>147</sup> Then facts came to the knowledge of Watts which showed that Omichand was not the sincere friend he pretended to be and his trust in Omichand vanished altogether when the latter demanded 5 per cent. of the Nawab's treasure as the price of his participation in the plot. The Nawab was supposed to be worth 40 crores of rupees and Omichand's share would have been 20 laks.<sup>148</sup> To thwart Omichand's greed and at the same time to prevent him from betraying the plot, two treaties were drawn up—one on red paper containing a stipulation that Omichand was to receive 20 laks and one on white paper in which this stipulation was omitted. All this had, however, caused delay and Watts informed Clive that Mir Jafar was uneasy and anxious to the last degree at not hearing whether his proposals had been accepted or not.<sup>149</sup>

Watts received the treaty on the 23rd May. He had promised to finish everything in two hours' time when once the treaty was in his hands but in reality it was nearly two weeks before the treaty was signed by Mir Jafar. Rai Durlabh Ram, the Nawab's treasurer, was responsible for the delay. He confessed afterwards that Omichand had been tampering with him. "In short," said Watts, "no device has that cunning serpent left unessayed to mar our affairs, because he had not the management of them himself."<sup>150</sup>

It was Clive's turn to feel uneasy. He could not understand why there should be any delay. The plot was being publicly talked about in Calcutta and he began to think of giving it up.<sup>151</sup> On the 5th June he told Watts that he

146. Clive to Watts (Hill, II, 372).

147. "I have let Omychund into the scheme and am afraid he (Mir Jafar) will startle when he hears it as he has no opinion of the Gentoos" Watts to Clive 6th May, (Hill, II, 377).

148. Watts to Clive 14th May (Hill, II, 380).

149. Watts to Clive 23rd May (Hill, II, 392).

150. Watts to Clive 6th June (Hill, II, 400).

151. Clive to Watts 5th June, (Hill, II, 398).

had been duped and ordered him to get the Articles back again.<sup>152</sup> The same night Watts went to the house of Mir Jafar in a close dooly, a kind of sedna chair used only by women and therefore safe from prying eyes. Mir Jafar signed the treaty and swore upon the Koran and his son's head to keep firm to the agreement.<sup>153</sup>

Clive received the treaty on the 11th June. On the 13th he wrote to the Nawab recapitulating all the grievances of the English, charging him with writing to Bussy in the Deccan and paying Law Rs. 10,000 a month by bills drawn on the Seths' house at Rajmahal and declaring that he was marching to Cassimbazar to put their disputes to arbitration before Jagat Seth, Mohan Lal, Mir Jafar and the rest of his great men.<sup>154</sup> The same day he marched. On the 19th he captured Cutwa. Here on the 21st he held his famous Council of War from which he retired to a neighbouring grove and spent an hour in deep meditation. On his return he gave the order for an advance. On the 22nd his army crossed the river and at one in the morning of the 23rd arrived at Plassey. At daybreak the battle commenced and by 4 o'clock in the afternoon Siraj-ud-daula's army was in full flight. The next morning Mir Jafar paid a visit to Clive. He expressed much gratitude for the great services rendered him by the English and assured Clive in the most solemn manner that he would faithfully fulfil the treaty he had made with them. He then proceeded to Murshidabad while Clive encamped without to prevent ravage and disorder.<sup>155</sup>

The Seths had played no part in these events. Their sphere of action was the Council-chamber rather than the battlefield. All we read of them is that they persuaded Luttee, who had hoped to be made Nawab, to throw in his lot with Mir Jafar.<sup>156</sup> It would be fair to conclude that their conduct before the battle was no different from their conduct afterwards and hence we can assert that they had been consistently loyal to their engagement with the English and were untainted with the avarice of Omichand and the trickery and treachery of Rai Durlabh Ram and others.

The English soon had reason to believe that they had been duped. Messrs. Watts and Walsh were sent to Murshidabad to receive the money promised in the treaty with Mir Jafar and sent the following report to Clive; "We waited on the Nabob this morning and went through the ceremony of his Durbar for full two hours, when he and Roy Duplup retired with us, but instead of Juggut Seat's advancing the money, Roy Dulup with his whole stock of Gentue

152. Hill, II, 398.

153. Watts to Clive 6th June (Hill, II 399).

154. Clive to the Nawab (Hill, II, 405).

155. Clive to Select Committee Fort St. George (Hill, II, 441).

156. "Rungcet Roy informs me that Juggatseat has secured Luttee" Watts to Clive (Hill, II, 400).

rhetorick endeavoured to persuade us that the Treasurer had been examined, and it appeared there could not be above a crore and 40 lack in the Treasury, and added that Juggut Seat could not advance crores of rupees; we were not acquainted with facts sufficiently to contest the matter well with Roy Dulup, but desired we might talk with Moonloll and carry him to visit Saabut Jung,<sup>157</sup> which with some difficulty, on Roy Dulup's part, was consented to. When we asked Roy Dulup at what time he and Monickchund proposed setting out for camp, he answered till this affair was settled he could not think of going. In short he appears to pride himself in shuffling and tricking, and we are persuaded, whilst he is Minister, our affairs will meet with all the interruption that Gentue cunning can raise. We should be glad you should interrogate Omichund and let us know his sentiments of the Nabob's wealth. He told Mr. Watts he knew all the places where the treasures were hoarded; for hoards there are and many by the information we have had had. He would certainly be a necessary person here, if he was not always so full of taking care of himself."<sup>158</sup>

Clive decided to go to the City himself the next day to see into the matter and checkmate the chicanery and villainy of Rai Durlabh Ram. He also intended to see the Nawab and Jagat Seth and consult with them on the measures to be taken to secure the person of Siraj-ud-daula and settle the new government on a solid foundation.<sup>159</sup> At one o'clock, however, he was warned by Watts and Walsh not to come. "Rungeet Roy," they said, "is despatched to us by Jaggatseat to desire that you will not come into town this afternoon for treachery is intended you. A consultation was held last night between Meerum, Roy Dulup and Cossim Hussain Cawn about cutting you off at your visit to the Nabob. You may return on pretence of illness if you are on the road, but it will be necessary to write of it. Jaggatseat will then visit you to-morrow morning. He begs you will not mention a syllable of this intelligence as you value his life."<sup>160</sup>

This happened on the 27th June and in consequence of the warning he had received Clive did not enter the city till the morning of the 29th. In the afternoon he paid a ceremonial visit to Mir Jafar, handed him to the masnad and saluted him as Nawab whereupon the new Nawab received the congratulations and homage of his courtiers. "On my return home," writes Clive, "I had a visit from Juggat Seat with whom I had a good deal of conversation. As he is a person of the greatest property and influence in the three subahs and of no inconsiderable weight at the Mogul's Court, it was natural to determine on

157. Clive.

158. Watts and Walsh to Clive 26th June, (Hill, II, 430).

159. Clive to Select Committee Fort William 27th June 1 p.m. (Hill, II, 431).

160. Watts and Walsh to Clive, 27th June, 1 p.m. (Hill, II, 431).

him, as the properest person to settle the affairs of that Government; accordingly when the Nawab returned my visit this morning, I recommended to him to consult Juggut Seat on all occasions, which he readily assented to, and immediately proposed, that as the money in the Treasury fell short of his expectations, and was not sufficient to satisfy his obligations to us, and leave him wherewithal for his necessary expenses, Juggut Seat should likewise mediate that matter between us; which proposal was too agreeable to me to decline, for, as I had sufficient reason to think great sums had been secreted and made away with by his Ministers, it would have been both a difficult and invidious task for me to have sifted into this affair. Accordingly we agreed to visit Jugut Seat immediately, that all subject for heart burnings on this account on either side might be removed out of hand; which being put in practice. Juggut Seat after a long but friendly debate settled the point as follows; that we should be paid one-half of our demand immediately, two-thirds in money and one-third in jewels, plate and goods, and the other half should be paid within three years at three yearly and equal payments. When I consider the state of the Treasury as it appeared to us, and that a sufficiency must necessarily be left to the Nabob for payment of his troops, to whom long arrears were due for services under the late Nabob, I cannot say but the terms exceeded my expectation. As it was absolutely necessary to satisfy Roy Dulub, who is the principal Minister, and through whose hands our affairs must pass, I thought it not improper to admit him to a commission of 5 per cent. and Juggut Seat representing that he had been a sufferer of seven lack by the French, and as he was joining in measures for their extirpation, it was probable he should never be paid; I agreed, provided you approved of it, that he might take what goods of theirs should be found at their out-Settlements and aurungs, and the ballance should be made good by our Company, provided he could not recover it from them. After which he assured us, that we might be persuaded of his best services, and rest satisfied that he would get the present Nabob confirmed from Delhi, represent our transactions in the fairest light, and procure for us any phirmaund we may have occasion for. His advice to the Nabob in general was to replace Allyverdi Cawn's officers in their old posts." 161

Clive and Mir Jafar had been accompanied to the house of the Seths by Watts, Scrafton, Miran and Rai Durlabh Ram. Omichand, too, was with them but was not invited to a seat on the carpet where the conference took place. So he had taken his seat in the outer part of the hall and thought of the riches that would soon be his. When the conference was over Clive decided that the time had come to undeceive him and Scrafton said to him "Omichand, the red paper is a trick; you to have nothing." The shock was too great for the old

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161. Clive to Select Committee Fort William 30th June. (Hill, II, 437).

man. He would have sunk to the ground in a fainting condition had not one of his attendants caught him in his arms. He was carried to his palankeen and then taken home. But his mind was affected, a pilgrimage to Malda did him more harm than good and he spent the remaining months of his life in a state of imbecillity delighting in dressing himself in rich garments and ornamenting himself with the most costly jewels.<sup>162</sup>

The revolution was consummated with another tragedy. Siraj-ud-daula who had fled from Murshidabad a few hours before the arrival of Mir Jafar in the city, was captured near Rajmahal in such a distressed condition that he was almost without clothes to his back<sup>163</sup> He arrived in Murshidabad on the 2nd July, at night, and was immediately despatched.<sup>164</sup> Clive states that the Nawab would have spared him but his son, Miran, and others of his great men thought his death necessary,<sup>165</sup> "Tyrant as he was," says Orme, "if he had respected the advice of his grandfather Allyverdy, and not have excited the detestation of the Gentoos, at the same time that he was rendering himself to the principal Mahomedan officers of his court, the English would have found no alliance sufficient to have ventured the risque of dethroning him: but it is probable that the same iniquity of character which urged him to the destruction of Calcutta, would soon have called forth other avengers of other atrocious deeds."

## 4.

The alliance which had brought about the revolution tended to fall to pieces when its end had been attained. The triumphal procession of boats which carried to Calcutta the gold and silver paid to the English under the award of Jagat Seth was intended to efface the humiliation of the sack of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula but, not unnaturally, it was the cause of much heart burning to the people of Murshidabad. A year ago the English had been a body of comparatively helpless merchants, by whom they had been courted and bribed and now the unpleasant truth was daily becoming apparent that the power of these merchants was overshadowing that of the Nawab of Bengal. Clive who was regarded as the embodiment of this power, was looked upon as a rival rather than an ally by Miran who was continually urging his father to free himself from English domination. Expression was given to the general feeling by one of Mir Jafar's courtiers in full durbar, "Sir" said the Nawab to him, "your

162. Orme, Vol. II, p. 182.

163. I have just had advice of Surajah Dowla's being taken near Rajahman in a distressed condition with hardly cloaths to his back." Clive to Select Committee, Fort St. George (Hill, II, 442).

164. Clive to Select Committee Fort St. George (Hill, II, 443).

165. Clive to Select Committee, Fort William (Hill, II, 444).

people have had a fray with the Colonel's people; Is your honour to know, who is that Colonel Clive, and in what station Heaven has seated him?" "My Lord Nawab," replied the culprit with hardly veiled sarcasm, "Me, to quarrel with the Colonel! me! who never get up every morning, without making three profound bows to his very jackass? How then could I be daring enough after that to fall out with the rider himself?"<sup>166</sup> That Clive triumphed over this hostile feeling was due to the glamour which surrounded him and the genuine regard which Mir Jafar felt towards him.

What Mir Jafar felt most irksome was the restraint exercised by Clive upon his dealings with his subjects. Rai Durlabh Ram had been one of the chief allies of Mir Jafar but after the revolution mutual distrust replaced their former feelings of friendship and it was only the restraining hand of Clive which saved Rai Durlabh Ram from destruction. Other Hindus who occupied important posts in the administration of the province were also full of fears for their safety. Troubles broke out at Midnapore and Purnea. Above all Ram Narain, the Governor of Patna, believed with truth that he was marked out for ruin and was forming plans for resisting Mir Jafar.

Mir Jafar was not an Alivardi Khan who showed that he could keep a province that he had won. According to the *Seir Mutaqherin* he and his son plunged into all kinds of pleasures without bestowing one single thought on affairs of state. A great change, too, had taken place in Mir Jafar. Formerly he had rendered himself conspicuous by his liberality, especially to his soldiers, but now he showed himself "a wretch of the most sordid avarice and a very carrion in parsimony and stinginess." "My Lord Nawab," said one of his friends one day, "a time was when you were renowned for liberality; What is become of it now?" "Friend," answered he unconcernedly, "in Alivardi Khan's time, the matter consisted only in taking up water from a river, and in bestowing another's money; but now that the river is become my own, my heart aches whenever I am obliged to part with any of its water, were it even to a friend."<sup>167</sup> The result of this was that his soldiers, whose pay was always in arrear, became extremely discontented and a constant source of danger to himself.

Scrafton, the political resident at Murshidabad, found himself unable to contend with the confusion that reigned everywhere. The Nawab was distracted with suspicions of treachery at Murshidabad, he was evading compliance with the articles of the treaty with the English, rebellions were breaking out in all directions, and it was reported that Ram Narain was joining Sujah-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oude. Scrafton was convinced that if that

166. *Seir Mutaqherin* Vol. II, p. 19.

167. *Seir Mutaqherin* Vol. II, p. 41.

happened Bengal was lost. On the 7th November he wrote to Clive, "Sir, I can only say, if you don't set out, with or without troops, permit me to go to Calcutta." "I shall march," said Clive in answer, "with the whole army. I have wrote to the Nabob and Ram Narrain, of which copies are enclosed you. Do not suffer yourself to be unquieted beyond reason at the situation of affairs, but consider them coolly, and give me daily accounts of what is passing. The march of the army is absolutely necessary as well to support the Nawab against his enemies, as to see justice done ourselves."<sup>168</sup>

The presence of Clive acted like magic. It had been with the greatest difficulty that Mir Jafar could be prevailed upon to issue out of his treasury 10,000 rupees. Soon after Clive joined him he had paid twenty-five laks and given security for the payment of ten more.<sup>169</sup> Rajah Ram, the Midnapore rebel, submitted to him, the rebels of Purnea were dispersed, and Ram Narain was reconciled with the Nawab and confirmed in his governorship. On the 18th February, 1758, Clive could say "All domestic troubles are now happily ended; and the Nabob seems so well fixed in his government, as to be able, with a small degree of prudence, to maintain himself *quietly* in it. For ourselves, we have been so fortunate in these transactions as to attach to us the most considerable persons in the kingdom; and, by the constancy with which we successively supported Rajah Ram, Roy Dullub, and Ram Narrain, to acquire the general confidence, and make our friendship be solicited on all sides."<sup>170</sup>

Clive returned to Murshidabad in May but two days before he entered the city trouble was caused by Miran, who was in charge. His jealousy of Clive was increased by the success of the latter in quelling the rebellions that had threatened the state and he was intensely irritated by the fact that Rai Durlabh Ram was returning in Clive's company. He affected to believe that his life was in danger, gathered an army and marched out of the city. The result was a panic. "The markets were deserted, the shops were shut, the bankers, even the Seats, would do no business and many principal families prepared to send away their effects."<sup>171</sup> In a day or two, however, Miran apologised to Clive for his conduct.

It was determined, nevertheless, to dismiss Rai Durlabh from his post of Diwan. Nuncomar had been added to the number of his enemies and Rai Durlabh had given fresh cause of complaint by not satisfying the demands of the army and compelling the Nawab to break into his own hoards of gold for

168. Malcolm's *Life of Clive* Vol. II, 374, 325.

169. Malcolm's *Life of Clive* Vol II, 377.

170. Malcolm's *Life of Clive* Vol II, 338.

171. Orme, Vol. II, p. 353.

the purpose. The scheme against the Diwan would not have been free from risk, says Orme, "if Nuncomar and others had not estranged the powerful house of the Seats from the interests of Roydoolub, by representations that they would be called on for money to supply the Nabob's exigencies, if Roydoolub continued to delay the supplies from the revenues." In August the Nawab left Murshidabad on a visit to Clive in Calcutta and the opportunity was taken to make an attack on the house of Rai Durlabh. The attack was frustrated by Scrafton who sent news of the event to Watts, then with the Nawab, and Watts persuaded the Nawab to allow Rai Durlabh to accompany them to Calcutta.<sup>172</sup>

The enhancement of the power of the English in Bengal had been felt by the Seths. We have seen that the establishment of a mint at Calcutta did not, for some years, do them any harm owing to their command of the specie of the province and the operation of the practice of batta. But in other directions they found that when their interests clashed with those of the English they had to give way. Before Clive set out from Murshidabad to march against Ram Narain he had been anxious to secure assignments on the revenues of Burdwan, Nudda and Hugli for the payment of the money still due under the treaty together with written agreements from the zemindars of those districts binding them to make the payments regularly to the English. This was the method followed by the Seths in obtaining security for their loans to the government and at this time they had demands on most of these very zemindars. Naturally they were opposed to Clive's plan but when he threatened them with the loss of the friendship of the English they desisted from opposition and the arrangement which Clive wished was concluded.<sup>173</sup>

It will be remembered that Jagat Seth had promised to procure a farman from Delhi confirming Mir Jafar as Nawab of Bengal. On the 23rd December, 1757, Clive wrote "the Nabob's confirmation is not yet procured at Delhi, nor can I judge when it will. The difficulty is in the price."<sup>174</sup> On the 29th January, 1758, however the news came that the patents had been made out and titles granted to Miran and other members of Mir Jafar's family. Jagat Seth informed Clive that he too had been created an Omra of the Empire with several high-sounding titles. A year later Clive wrote the following letter to the Seths on the subject:—

The President to the Seats, dated 31st January, 1759. No. 281.

"I always understood, that when you had procured me the Sunnod for a 6,000 Munsub and 5,000 Horse, with the title of Zubdit-al-Mulk Nazier-ad-Doula, that the Nabob would have favoured me with a Jaguire, equal to the

172. Orme, Vol. II, p. 356—358.

173. Clive to Select Committee, London, (*Malcolms' Life of Clive*, II, p. 332).

174. Clive to Select Committee, London, (*Malcolm's Life of Clive* II, 331).

Rank I received by my Sunnod; but to this day I have not heard a Word from him concerning it. As there is a strong friendship subsisting between you and me. I beg leave to give you the Trouble to apply to the Nabob concerning this Affair and that I may have a Jaguire equal to my Rank."<sup>175</sup>

This letter brought the following reply:—

From the Seats to the President. No Date: Received 20th February, 1759.

Your Two obliging Letters, One answering ours which accompanied some Apples to you; the other, that you understood, when we had procured you a Munsub and Titles, that the Nabob would have favoured you with a Jaguire, equal to the Rank you received by your Sunnod, but that to the Writing of your Letter, you have not heard from him concerning it: that on Account of the Friendship subsisting between us, you desired we would apply to the Nabob and procure it; we have with great Pleasure received, and are rejoiced to hear you are in good Health, for which we return God thanks: Agreeable to your Orders we addressed the Nabob to give you a Jaguire: he has long determined not to grant Jaguires in the Subahship of Bengal: Orissa is poor, but if it is agreeable to you to have one in the subahship of Bahar, it will be immediately granted you; of this I thought proper to advise you. Please to acquaint us with your Resolution on this Affair. We are going to a Place of Devotion with all our Family in a Day or two, accompanied by some of the Nabob's Forces. By the favour of God we hope to return in Six Weeks."<sup>176</sup>

Here the matter dropped and Clive thought no more about it but his suggestion was to bear fruit in the future.

Just at this time the Seths fell under the suspicion of the Nawab who tried to prevent them from going on their pilgrimage. Fresh troubles had broken out in the beginning of 1759. The Emperor Alamgir the Second had not even the semblance of authority and was a mere instrument in the hands of his vazier. His eldest son, the Shahzada Shah Alam unable to bear this state of thralldom, escaped from Delhi, gathered together an army and meditated the conquest of Bengal. The news caused the greatest consternation at Murshidabad. Ram Narrain was suspected of having invited the Shahzada into Behar and Jagat south was implicated in the affair. Malcolm, in his *Life of Lord Clive*, gives the following account of the Seths' quarrel with the Nawab with comments upon it:—"Juggeit Seit and his brother had obtained leave to proceed on a pilgrimage to Parasnath, and had commenced their journey, when information was received that they were in correspondence with the Shahzada, and had actually furnished him with the means of paying his new levies. The Nabob,

175. First Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons. Appendix No. 7, p. 224.

176. First Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons. Appendix No. 7, p. 224.

giving credit to this report, sent to stop them; but they refused compliance with his orders, and proceeded under the guard of the two thousand men which he had furnished for their escort. These troops, on receiving a promise of the liquidation of their arrears, readily transferred their allegiance from the Prince to his bankers. The Nabob, if he had had the disposition, would probably have found himself without the means of coercing these wealthy subjects into obedience. The principal bankers of India command, through the influence of their extensive credit, the respect of sovereigns, and the support of their principal ministers and generals. Their property, though often immense, is seldom in a tangible form. Their great profits enable them to bear moderate exactions; and the prince who has recourse to violence towards one of this class is not only likely to fail in his immediate object of plunder, but is certain to destroy his future resources, and to excite an impression of his character that must greatly facilitate those attempts against his life and power to which it is the lot of despots to be continually exposed." The suspicions against Jagat Seth were probably without foundation and we soon afterwards find him in favour with the Nawab.

When Mir Jafar heard that Clive had chased the Shahzada beyond the borders of Behar he was full of gratitude to the man to whom, he declared, he was indebted for his government the second time. Warren Hastings, who had succeeded Sraffton at Murshidabad, wrote to Clive informing him that the Nawab intended to confer a jaghir upon him "being ashamed that you should do so much for him without the prospect of reaping any advantage to yourself by it." The difficulties of giving Clive a jaghir in Bengal were overcome by Jagat Seth who recommended that he should be given the quit-rent arising from the lands ceded to the Company in the vicinity of Calcutta and this was done. The reward was great but, declared the Nawab, very little adequate to the services he had received from the Colonel.<sup>177</sup>

The news was conveyed to Clive in the following letter from the Seths which was undated but received on the 4th June, 1759.

"Some time ago we were favoured with an obliging Letter, from you to this Purport, That you had been honoured with a Munsub, of the Rank of 6,000 and the Command of 5,000 Horse from the Presence; and that we, who are your faithful Servants, had procured you the Sunnod, but that as yet no Jaguire had been granted for the same, and desiring that we should address the Nabob as we thought proper on that Affair, and procure the Jaguire, which would give you Satisfaction—Agreeable to your Orders we often reminded him of it, and he himself was contriving about it: We have lately addressed him again and

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177. Malcolm's Life of Clive, Vol. II, 423, 424.

he informs us, that he has pitched on a Place for your Jaguire in the Subaship of Bengal: and by the Blessing, when you return to this City, an Account thereof will be delivered to you. On this we rose and paid the usual Compliment on this Occasion. We, who are your sincere Friends and Well-wishers, hope to be favoured with an Account of your Health."<sup>178</sup>

Shortly afterwards Clive came to Murshidabad. He was met, two miles north of the city, by the Nawab, Jagat Seth and other officers of the court. After some conversation between the Nawab and Clive the Nawab retired and Jagat Seth presented Clive, from the Nawab, with a silken bag containing the title deeds of his jaghir.<sup>179</sup>

In September of the same year Mir Jafar paid a second visit to Calcutta and on this occasion was accompanied by Jagat Seth. The cost of entertaining the Nawab was 79,542 while Jagat Seth's entertainment cost Rs. 17,374. Here is the bill:—

The Honourable Company.....	Dr.			
September.—For four day's expenses for Jugget Sett as undermentioned:—				
To House furnished <i>viz</i> :—			Rs.	A. P.
30 pieces of Cossas <sup>180</sup> at Rs. 5-8 per piece	Arcot	...	155	0 0
45 ditto of Cuttnee <sup>181</sup>	...	...	1,157	0 0
Red Bunting Silk, Tape and Thread for purdahs	..		96	12 0
Gunneys for the Bed	...	...	16	10 0
20 pairs of Mats	...	...	37	0 0
Taylors' work on Sundries	...	...	66	6 6
			529	4 6
To his diet for 4 days at Rs. 400 per day	...	...	16,000	0 0
To presents given &c.—	Rs.	A. P.		
6 Pieces of flowered Velvet at				
Rs. 261-9-6 per piece	...	1,570	8 0	
1 Otter box set with diamonds,				
Sicca Rs. 3,000	...	3,222	3 6	
1 piece of China Bro-				
cade	...	215	0 0	
2 ditto brought by				
Captain Brohier	...	552	0 0	
		767	0 0	

178. First Report of Select Committee of House of Commons. Appendix No. 8, p. 225.

179. First Report of Select Committee of House of Commons. Evidence of Francis Sykes. Page 154.

180. Muslin of a close fine texture, (Hobson Johnson, p. 707).

181. Cotton Cloth.

4 pieces of Broad Cloth at Rs. 70 per piece	...	280	0	0			
4 pairs of side Lanthorns at Rs. 120 per pair	...	280	0	0			
8 Twizer Cases at Rs. 55 each		440	0	0	6,959	5	6
					150	0	0
To money given to his servants, viz:—							
Jemadars, Chobdars, Peons, attending Servants, Dam- mar boys and bearers, etc.	...					8,359	5 6
					.....	500	0 0
To Dolchand's expense—							
To his diet	...	150	0	0			
					150	0	0
To presents given—							
2 pieces of flowered Velvet	...	457	3	0			
1 ditto of China Brocade	...	215	0	0			
2 ditto of Broadcloth	...	100	0	0			
					772	3	0
To Rattoonchund, his diet	...					922	3 0
					150	0	0
To Presents—							
2 pieces of flowered Velvet	...	532	7	0			
1 ditto of Broadcloth	...	50	0	0			
Buxis to the Servants	...	50	0	0			
					782	7	0
						932	7 0
To Birjo Mohun Shaw, his diet	...				100	0	0
To present—a piece of flowered Velvet	...				284	14	0
						384	14 0
To Moonsubdar, his diet	...				100	0	0
To Presents—							
2 pieces of Broad Cloth	...	140	0	0			
Ready money given Sunt Rs. 3,000	...	3,597	3	6			
					3,737	3	6
						3,837	3 6

To paid Mr. Hackett as per Bill	Co's. Rs.	2,001	6	0
				1,883 2 8
To Broad cloth, half piece for putting over the				
Elephant	...	35	0	0
To Buxis to the people that brought present of				
Fruits, Sunt Rs. 20	...	20	10	0
				55 10 1
	Arcot Rupees	17,374	1	6

Calcutta: } Errors Excepted  
 6th October, 1759. } (Sgd.) ROBERT CLIVE.

One extract from the bill for the Nawab's entertainment will show the kind of presents made by the Company to a Nawab of Bengal:— Rs. A. P.

To 3 Waters, 1 Beetle Box and Rose-water Bottle in silver				
ornamented with Lazuli	...	...	2,186	0 0
To 1 ditto ditto	...	...	1,404	0 0
To 1 Rose-water Bottle and Stand	...	...	164	0 0
Waxwork—				
To a Turkish Lady	...	...	222	0 0
To a Boy and Girl	...	...	108	0 0
To the Virgin Mary	...	...	33	0 0
To 12 standing Venusses to pull off behind	...	...	840	0 0
To a lying ditto	...	...	84	0 0
To 6 kissing figures	...	...	72	0 0
To 8 ladies under glasses	...	...	160	0 0
To Joseph and Mary	...	...	33	0 0
To a Roman charity	...	...	56	0 0
To a curious cut Lustre containing 32 snake arms and fans,				
etc.	...	...	4,608	0 0
To 1 ditto. ditto. ditto	...	...	4,608	0 0
To a pair of plate glasses, 55 inches by 33½ inches	...	...	1,479	0 0
To 1 ditto ditto 47½ inches by 34½ inches	...	...	568	0 0
To 1 ditto ditto 45½ inches by 34 inches	...	...	426	0 0
To 1 double barrel Gun	...	...	180	0 0
To 1 silver mounted Gun with a gold lock-hole	...	...	124	0 0
To a pair of double barrel Pistols	...	...	210	0 0
To 2 ladies richly drest in silver, playing two tunes. <sup>182</sup>	...	...	2,080	0 0

182. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records p. 192.

In February 1760, to the great misfortune of Mir Jafar, Clive left India. Holwell succeeded him at Governor but in August was superseded by Vansittart. In the beginning of the year the English had to take the field to defend Mir Jafar once more against the Shahzada who had invaded the province with a more formidable force than that of the preceding year. The Mahrattas, too, entered the province from the south and by their ravages put a stop to the collection of the revenues upon which the Company depended to meet the expenses of the year. In March the Chief and Council at Dacca were asking Holwell for an immediate supply of money or permission to borrow from the house of Jagat Seth.<sup>183</sup> Holwell had no money and told them to go to Jagat Seth. By May Holwell also found himself constrained to apply to the Seths for money but he was informed that Mir Jafar had been making such large demands upon them that they were unable to comply with his request. Holwell took the refusal very badly. He wrote to Warren Hastings, "the necessity of the Company's affairs is such, that I have been obliged to apply to the Seats for a loan of ten or 15 lack, which they, under various pretences have refused: I judged their own security as well as an opportunity of obliging the Company, would have influenced their ready compliance; but herein I judged ill. However, I doubt not an occasion may offer, for manifesting a proper resentment to that house for this refusal."<sup>184</sup> Representations from Warren Hastings on the Seths' behalf merely drew from Holwell a grudging admission and renewed threats. "The apology you make for the Seats," he wrote, "and they for themselves, we must submit to; but though they may hold good respecting the large loan I requested of them, yet had they been inclined to have shewn a readiness to oblige the Company, they would at least have made a tender to me of such a sum as they could have spared with convenience to themselves. One reason they alledge to me for their refusal is, their having refused the Nabob, which I now find had not a word of truth in it. Had they complied with my request it would have armed them with the best reason they could have urged for not complying with his demand; and it would have been incumbent on us to screen and protect them from any violence intended against them.—A time may come, when they may stand in need of the Company's protection, in which case they may be assured they shall be left to Satan to be buffeted."<sup>185</sup>

Before many months had passed Holwell brought "Satan" on the scene. In July, Mir Jafar's eldest son, Miran, was killed by lightning while fighting against the Shahzada and the old Nawab was crushed with

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183. Long's Unpublished Records, p. 207.

184. Holwell, *India Tracts* (1774), p. 58.

185. Holwell, *India Tracts*, p. 62.

the blow. His soldiers, taking advantage of his grief and consternation, banded together to force him to pay them their arrears. On the 14th a clamorous mob surrounded the palace, insulted the treasurer and other officers of government, pulled them out of their palanquins and inflicted other indignities upon them. The same scenes were repeated the next day. On the 16th the mutineers became bolder. Some posted themselves at the doors of the palace and allowed none to enter or leave. Others mounted on every wall, even on those which are held sacred in the East, used the most insulting language towards the Nawab and threatened him with death if their demands were not complied with. They broke off fragments from the walls and pelted every courtier or attendant who came in sight with them so that several persons of distinction were wounded. This scene lasted for two days until Mir Kasim Ali Khan, the Nawab's son-in-law, paid the soldiers three lake of rupees from his own treasury and became security for the rest of their arrears.<sup>186</sup>

The internal disorders of the country combined with the unsatisfactory progress of the operations against external enemies and the empty state of the Company's treasury determined Holwell to bring about a change in the government. He prepared a memorial on the state of the affairs of the province for the new Governor who was on his way to Calcutta. In this memorial he laid at the door of Mir Jafar all the evils under which the country was suffering, he charged him with treacherous dealings with the Dutch in the previous year although Major Caillaud pointed out to him that this was never clearly proved and even if it had been proved the fault had been condoned by Clive; he charged him with corresponding with the Shahzada although Warren Hastings declared that the document was a forgery; he charged him with the murder of persons who were alive when Mir Jafar himself was dead<sup>190</sup> and he got £30,000 for himself when his scheme was successful.<sup>191</sup> The dethronement of Mir Jafar, condemned by Clive,<sup>192</sup> protested against by seven of the Company's servants in Bengal, approved by the Court of Directors in such hesitating terms that Warren Hastings did not venture to translate the despatch to the new Nawab,<sup>193</sup> was carried out by Governor Vansittart in October and Mir Kasim was installed in his place.

A month before Jagat Seth had come into novel relations with the new Governor as the following letter will show:—"Saturday the 20th of Morum,

186. Warren Hastings to Select Committee, Calcutta (Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 71).

190. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 428.

191. Malcolm's Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 289.

192. Malcolm's Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 255.

193. Hastings to Vansittart, 14th July, 1762. (Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 69.)

at 6 o'clock in the evening, as I was returning from dinner upon plain ground my foot slipped and I fell down, by which accident my shoulder was disjointed and two hours after I was bereaved of my senses. Shortly after a Commungore came and gave me physic, and by God's grace it was replaced by the 2nd of Zuffer, and I am much better, but yet I have not got the use of my arm; and I have received your favourable letter and the oil and extract of horn and other medicine and therefore I think you have done it from your heart, and since their arrival I have gained much strength, but you did not mention in what manner the medicines were to be applied, for this reason I have not used them, they remain as you sent them. I hope you will order to the people to write the direction and what regimen is necessary to be observed and shall immediately comply with them. My hand was lost to me, but by your favour I have received the use of it again, and I beg you will enquire and send me what other medicines may be necessary to remove the pain, and write me concerning the application, and also send a Doctor that perfectly understands the nature of the medicines. By your complying with these requests, after my recovery, as long as I have life I shall retain a grateful sense of it.

P.S.—Since yesterday, the 2nd Zuffer, Doctor Hancock has given me physic, and I write this for your information, and I imagine you wrote to Doctor Hancock about it, and therefore from your favour it is I have received so great benefit. God grant you long life and many riches.”<sup>194</sup>

## 5.

The dethronment of Mir Jafar, the transportation of himself and his family to Calcutta and the installation of Mir Kasim in his place, were carried out under the superintendence of Vansittart who came to Murshidabad for the purpose. In the measures he took for settling the new government on a satisfactory foundation he sought the advice and assistance of Jagat Seth.<sup>195</sup> Mir Kasim also came to Jagat Seth for assistance in the shape of money—“a disagreeable operation,” says the Seir Mutaqherin, “to which he was driven by the necessity of his affairs.” These he found in an appalling state. Immense sums were due to the troops and large payments had to be made to the English. He found in the treasury about forty or fifty thousand rupees in cash and gold and silver plate to the value of three laks.<sup>196</sup>

Mir Kasim applied himself resolutely to alter this state of things. The gold and silver plate was coined into money, the expenses were curtailed and order and regularity introduced into the administration of the finances.

194. Lang's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 234.

195. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 138.

196. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 139.

All who had taken advantage of the disorders which reigned under the former government to enrich themselves dishonestly were compelled to disgorge and the enquiry was so searching that not even the slave-women and eunuchs of the palace escaped.<sup>197</sup> Reforms were made in every branch of the administration. The army was re-modelled and disciplined after the English fashion. Guns and muskets were manufactured and the translator of the *Seir Mutaqherin* declares that the latter were superior to those sent to India for the use of the Company.

But Mir Kasim's experience of the nobles of Murshidabad had made him deeply suspicious of them all. His spies were everywhere so that men were frightened of visiting their friends and stayed in their own houses. This terror rose to such a height after a number of his officers had been put to death that his courtiers were in continual apprehension lest an unlucky word of their might arouse the Nawab's anger and even in their own homes their anxiety would not allow them to sleep peacefully at night.<sup>198</sup>

The relations between Mir Kasim and the English were bad from the start. Those members of the Council who had opposed his elevation never ceased to regard him with hostility in spite of all the efforts of Vansittart and Warren Hastings to bring about a better state of feeling. In the middle of 1762 a letter arrived in Bengal from the Court of Directors which referred in very guarded terms to the recent revolution. The opposition party took it to mean that the Directors disapproved of the revolution, published the letter throughout the province and declared that the next step would be the restoration of Mir Jafar.<sup>199</sup>

Warren Hastings was able to remove the Nawab's fears on this point but neither Vansittart nor he was able to settle the serious disputes which arose, hampered as they were by the violent opposition of their own colleagues. The state of Bengal at this time may be likened to that of the land of Canaan when, the ancient Book records, there was no king in Israel and every man did that which was right in his own eyes. The Company's duties or permits to carry on trade in Bengal custom free were shamefully abused. In former times they had only been used to protect the sea-borne trade but now they were used to cover salt, betel, tobacco and other articles of inland trade and the Nawab's revenues suffered accordingly. Not only that but every Bengali agent and underling of the Company's servants acted to-

197. *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, p. 155.

198. *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, pp. 192, 193.

199. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 67, 68.

wards the inhabitants of the country as if they were armed with the whole might of the British nation. Complaints began to pour in upon the Governor. One of the last of these was received from Jagat Seth to whom Vansittart sent the following reply on the 10th March, 1763:—"I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter wherein you write that the inhabitants of the village of Balygoculpore, which is a Talook you have purchased, are all run away on account of the violence committed by the people belonging to the English boats which bring to there, and that I should give strict orders concerning that affair. As the strictest orders have been given that no dependant of the English should on any account injure or oppress the Ryots, and I am by no means inclined to allow of such proceedings, and as I have the same regard for your business as my own, I therefore desire if any one is guilty of any violences or oppressions, that you will inform me of his name, together with all particulars, that I may put a stop to such doings."<sup>200</sup>

The letter meant nothing for, in truth, Vansittart had long before learnt that he was helpless in such matters. When he cautioned the Company's servants whose agents were concerned in these disorders they paid no attention to him. When he brought the complaints before the Council he was told they were only pretexts of the Nawab for quarrelling with them or for encroaching upon their rights. He found that the only result of his interference was that he made those interested his personal enemies. "In short," he says, "though the complaints became every day more frequent, yet not one was ever redressed, nor even thought worthy of an enquiry; and all that I could do was, by palliating what I could not remedy, to keep the Nabob in temper, and prevent an open quarrel from breaking out between us."<sup>201</sup>

An attempt made by Vansittart to end the dispute only made matters worse. He went to Monghyr, which the Nawab had made his residence in preference to Murshidabad, and drew up a number of regulations for the conduct of trade by the Company's servants. These were, however, regarded with the greatest hostility by a majority of the Council and Mir Kasim, who could not, or would not understand Vansittart's relation to his Council, was still further exasperated. At length, in March, 1763, the Nawab issued an order abolishing all tolls and customs for the space of two years and the Council, declaring that this was an infringement of his engagement with the Company sent Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to demand the annulment of the

200. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 347.

201. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 109, 110.

order. Matters were hastening towards a rupture and the Seths were involved in the dispute as the following extract from the *Seir Mutaqherin* will show:—

“The Nawab, sensible of the opposition formed against him at Calcutta, and anxious to take every precaution necessary in a dispute of so much consequence, had harboured this long while heavy suspicions against the two Djagat-seats; nor did he think it consonant to the rules of prudence to leave two such men in Moorshoodabad at such a critical conjuncture. He remembered that they had been deeply concerned, both by their money and influence in transferring the supreme power from Seradj-ed-doulah to Mir-djaafer-qhan, and lately from Mir-djaafer-qhan to himself; and, being a great connoisseur in men’s tempers, as well as an enquirer into their characters, he dreaded the consequences of two such men remaining at Moorshoodabad, and so near Calcutta, at a time when his disputes with the English ran higher and higher and his difficulties with them were encreasing daily upon his hands. He therefore thought it incumbent upon him to have both of them these brothers in his power, at least; and, as he knew that so far from moving a foot on his sending them letters or orders, they would from that very moment apprehend for their safety, and contrive to escape to Calcutta, where they would prove of infinite service to his opposers, by their wealth, intrigues, and influence;—he therefore wrote to Mahmed-taky-qhan, who commanded in Birbohom, a man of an acknowledged bravery, and a sincere fidelity, requiring him to repair in all speed to Moorshoodabad, where he was to surround the house of the Djagat-seats in such a manner as that not a man might come out, and then to wait until Marcar, the Armenian, might arrive and bring him a letter; on the perusal of which, he was to deliver the two Seats in his hands, taking a receipt in form for the delivery of their persons. After writing the above order, he dispatched Marcar, an Armenian General, of Gurghin-qhan’s recommendation, and putting three or four regiments of Tallingas under his command, he ordered him to repair by water to Moorshoodabad, where he was to receive from Mahmed-taky-qhan the two Djagatseats, and to bring them in all speed to Monghyr, but without departing from a proper regard and attention to their persons and rank. Mahmed-taky-qhan, on receipt of the order, repaired in all speed to Moorshoodabad, where he closely surrounded the house of the two Djagat-seats, sending them word at the same time, “That he had no injury to offer either to their persons, fortune, honour, or family; his orders were only to send them to Monghyr, where the Nawab wanted to see them reside near his person; and that he requested them to make themselves thoroughly easy on his own particular subject, as he had no harm to offer.” The two brothers, finding themselves reduced to the single party of submission, prepared for their journey. In three days more Marcar, the

Armenian, arrived with his Talingas, and the two brothers being delivered up to him, were carried to Monghyr. The Nawab received them with distinction, spoke to them with kindness, deplored the necessity of his affairs, soothed their minds, excused the rigor of his proceedings, and requested their living at Monghyr, where he hoped they would build lodgings for themselves, set up a banking-house, as they had at Moorshoodabad, attend at his court, as they did formerly, and, as formerly, transact business in the affairs of government and finance. He, at the same time, set them at full liberty, but people were secretly set upon them, with orders not to suffer them to go out to any great distance. The poor brothers were fain to order a banking-house to be raised for their lodgings, and found themselves obliged to accommodate themselves to the perfidy exercised on them."

It was just at this time that Amyatt and Hay arrived at Cassimbazar on their way to Monghyr and the former immediately reported the news of the carrying off of the Seths to the Governor. Vansittart concluded that the Seths had been treated in this manner on account of their connection with the English and on the 24th April, 1763, sent the following letter of remonstrance to the Nawab:—"I am just informed by a letter from Mr. Amyatt that Mahomed Tuckee Khan having marched with his army from Beerbhoom to Herageel went on the 21st instant at night to the house of Juggut Sett and Maharaja Siroop Chand, and carried them from their own house to Herageel, where he keeps them under a guard.

"This affair surprises me greatly; when your Excellency took the Government upon yourself, you and I and the Setts being assembled together, it was agreed that as they are men of high rank in the country, you shall make use of their assistance in managing your affairs and never consent that they should be injured; and when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Monghyr I then likewise spoke to you about them, and you set my heart at ease by assuring me that you would on no account do them any injury. The taking men of their rank in such an injurious manner out of their home is extremely improper and is disgracing them in the highest degree; it is moreover a violation of our agreement, and therefore reflects dishonour upon you and me, and will be a means of acquiring us in ill name from everybody. The abovementioned Gentlemen were never thus disgraced in the time of any former Nazims."

So the letter ends in Long's "Unpublished Records"<sup>202</sup> but it is plain from the Nawab's reply that the Governor ended his letter with a demand for the Seths' release. The Nawab's reply is dated the 2nd May. After repeating practically the whole of Vansittart's letter the Nawab proceeds: "In the affair of the Setts no person has to this time ever wrote any thing, nor spoken to me concerning them.

" Now that you write to me, with all these specious pretences, it is as manifest as the sun, that under the government of every Nazim of Bengal till now, Omichund (for instance) and every dependent of the English and these gentlemen too, attended on the Nazim, and assisted in the affairs of the sircar, at the same time that they carried on their mercantile concerns. God be praised, that you yourself write that I said, " these gentlemen are of consequence, it is proper to carry on my affairs with their intervention." For these three years that I have borne this burthen, and have repeatedly wrote to these gentlemen, to carry on their own business, and assist in the affairs of the Nizamut, they paid not the least regard to my summons, and have put a stop to all their mercantile business, and have done all they could, to throw the affairs of the Nizamut into confusion, and treated me as an enemy, and out-law, and refused to come. Now that I have sent my people, and brought them hither, it was not because they were intriguing with the English, but for the management of such of my affairs, as indispensably required it. Since the beginning, this was agreed upon between us, that these gentlemen, etc., should always attend upon the Nazim, and carry on both the business of the Nizamut, and their own. As to your writing to me in this manner, and knitting your brows without reason, and treating the covenants and treaties which are between us, like children's play, breaking entirely through them, as if you had not any kind of regard to them; what other construction can I devise for this? Whilst your people drag and carry away my aumils, and keep them in confinement; in this unjustifiable insolence of your people, which is oversetting the treaty between us, there is no diminution of character, no breach of faith, nor cause of reproach between us, neither is any violation of the treaty in this. But when I summon a man, who is my own dependent, the treaty is broke, and my administration becomes weak, and my name suffers in the sight of every one, but particularly in yours. O gracious God! this is a matter of astonishment, which my understanding cannot reach. In a word, that these gentlemen, from the first day, swore and agreed, that " wherever my life was, their life was, and wherever my business was, their business was." God be praised, that this is a fact known to all the world. Now I have brought them to this place, that they may always be with me and attend to my business and their own, according to custom. I know not, whether what you write in behalf of these gentlemen, be by way of intercession for them, or whether their names are included in our former treaty, which you have recourse to, when you charge me with breach of faith, and violation of former agreements, and reproach me with weakness, and a bad name. God be praised, that I have sent for them with no other design than for the currency of business, and for their continuance in one place neither, as in the case of Coja Wajeed, have I seized any person unjustly, nor charged my conscience

with the unjust death of any man. If you are resolved to put misconstructions on every proper and lawful action of mine, I am utterly without remedy; but if you regard equity, this matter is not of such consequence, as to give occasion for so much contention and reproach.

In the Nabob's Hand-writing.

Sir, Though it is agreed by the treaty between us, that I should never say anything in behalf of the servants and dependents of the Company, nor you, gentlemen, interfere in behalf of the servants and dependents of the Nizamut; yet you, gentlemen, have regarded all this as utterly obliterated, and in contradiction thereto persist in the violation of the treaty, and desire to raise your name, and establish your own customs. I am remediless."<sup>202</sup>

Messrs. Amyatt and Hay arrived at Monghyr in the middle of May and presented their demands to the Nawab. One of these demands was the release of the Seths but the Nawab hardened his heart and would not let them go. In other respects, too, the result of the deputation was unsatisfactory and events soon occurred which made war inevitable. A boat carrying arms to the English at Patna was seized by the Nawab as it was passing Monghyr. Mr. Ellis the Chief of the factory at Patna, an inveterate enemy of the Nawab, took possession of the city and though this was soon recaptured the news had driven the Nawab to frenzy. Amyatt, who had left Monghyr to return to Calcutta, was murdered near Murshidabad with all his attendants. The English re-instated Mir Jafar as Nawab and marched on Murshidabad. A battle placed the city in their hands and two more battles drove Mir Kasim from Monghyr. Mir Kasim, driven to madness by these defeats, vented his desire for blood on the helpless prisoners in his hands and among the victims were Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand.

The usual account of the death of the Seths is that they were thrown into the Ganges from a tower in the fort of Monghyr. It is related, too, that Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai had a favourite servant, named Chuni, who entreated the executioners to put him to death with his master. The executioners refused his request, his master supplicated him to give up the idea, but he was resolute in his determination not to survive his master and threw himself into the river after Jagat Seth. Ten thousand boatmen, says the translator of the *Seir Mutaqherin*, passed every year, by the walls of Monghyr and there was not one of them who could not point to a certain tower of the fort of Monghyr as the scene of the tragic death of the Seths, every old woman in Monghyr knew by

<sup>202.</sup> p. 348.

<sup>203.</sup> Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. III, pp. 206—212.

heart the speech of Chuni to the executioners of his master and yet it would seem that the death of the Seths did not take place at Monghyr at all. The Seir Mutaqherin says that Mir Kasim carried them with him in his retreat to Patna and that they were hacked to pieces by his soldiers near the town of Bar the day after the death of Gurghin Khan, or Coja Gregory, as the English called him. The Riyazu-s-salatin also mentions that the death of Jagat Seth occurred after that of Gurghin Khan while Major Adams, the commander of the English troops against Mir Kasim wrote to the Council at Calcutta on the 18th October, 1763, "all accounts likewise agree. . . .that the Seaths were put to death near Baur and their bodies not permitted to be burnt, but exposed under a Guard of Sepoys."<sup>204</sup> Instances of faithfulness and gratitude are rare in the annals of this time and therefore it is to be hoped that the story of the devoted Chunni was founded on truth and only distorted in details by popular rumour.

The Seths were not unprepared for their fate. From the day that Siraj-ud-daula ascended the masnad they had been forced to walk warily, continually haunted with the dread that the Nawab would one day find an opportunity of seizing them and taking possession of their vast wealth. Hence it was that they employed a guard of 2,000 men which watched over the house where they and their families lived and accompanied them when they went on pilgrimage. At Murshidabad, according to Sraffton, it was an invariable rule never to suffer the two of them to go out at the same time nor did one ever take out his own children but the children of the other.<sup>205</sup> In 1766, three years after the death of the two Seths Sraffton wrote:—"Jagatseat was a very great banker, whose ancestors had been long established in Bengal and during the Power of the Mogul used to mediate between the Subahs and the court of Delhi, and remit the revenues: he was also mediator between many of the Rajahs and the Subah who was always highly respected and esteemed: and the late head of the house was supposed to be possessed of many millions sterling: his assistance and support were necessary to the strength and reputation of the Government, and our protection was necessary to him, to preserve him against the designs of the government on his wealth."<sup>206</sup> This protection, Sraffton asserted, was solemnly promised to Jagat Seth by Lord Clive<sup>207</sup> and he was indignant with

204. Long's Selection from Unpublished Records, p. 334.

205. Sraffton, Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative (1766), p. 41.

206. Ibid. p. 2.

207. Ibid. p. 2. "We, in his (the Nawab's) presence, promised the Company's protection to Juggutseat and Roydullub, for their lives and honour as long as they remained firm in their allegiance to their master."

Vansittart for the fatal blow, which by his failure to protect the Seths and Ram Narain, the Governor dealt to the national reputation which Clive had established by a strict adherence to every engagement he had entered into.<sup>208</sup> "Had the army taken the field," Scrafton maintained, "the moment Ramnarain was put in irons, or the Seats confined, the war had been much more justifiable than in the support of privileges, to which they had no right."<sup>209</sup>

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208. Ibid, p. 44. "Lord Clive, by a strict adherence to every engagement he had entered into, had established such a national reputation, that I am convinced there was not a man in the three provinces, who would not have joined the English forces on a single letter: but the giving up the persons of Ramnarain and the Seats into the Subah's power, had so totally changed their sentiments of us, that English faith was now as much detested as it was before respected: and although Mir Cossim fought several battles and in each drew nearer to his ruin, not a single man joined us to the last."

209. Ibid, p. 45.

## CHAPTER 4.

## JAGAT SETH KHUSHAL CHAND AND MAHARAJA UDWAT CHUND.

Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai left four sons—Khusal Chand, Gulab Chand, Sumer Chand and Sukhal Chand. The eldest, Seth Khushal Chand became the third Jagat Seth and was confirmed in the title by the Emperor Shah Alam in 1766. While each of the others received the title of Seth from the Emperor. Maharaja Swarup Chand left three sons, the eldest of whom, Seth Udwat Chand, inherited his father's title of Maharaja. It would appear that when Mir Kasim carried off their fathers to Monghyr, Khushal Chand and Udwat Chand had remained at Murshidabad and the victories of the English soon removed them from the clutches of Mir Kassim. Seth Gulab Chand, a brother of Khushal Chand and Babu Mahir Chand, a brother of Udwat Chand, were not so fortunate. They had been carried off to Monghyr with their fathers, and, though they escaped death, they were forced to accompany Mir Kasim on his wanderings until, at last, they were handed over to the Emperor of Delhi and Vizier, the Nawab of Oudh. Mir Jafar wrote to the Vizier on their behalf from whom he received the following reply:—"I have had the pleasure to receive your two letters mentioning the arrival of the royal presents, and your desire that the Set's sons may be released, and I have represented in a proper manner to His Majesty the strength and firmness of your obedience. The high in station Raja Beny Bahadre will shortly arrive in the royal presence, and these matters will be settled and answers sent you." The Nawab's intervention was successful but Jagat Seth and his cousin had to pay a heavy ransom before the captives were released.

Mir Jafar survived his re-instatement as Nawab of Bengal for about a year and a half. He died at the end of January, 1765. Mr. Vansittart had left India by this time and his place had been taken by Mr. Spencer, who had been sent to Bengal from Bombay but Clive had been appointed Governor again and was on his way out at the time of Mir Jafar's death. Miran, the eldest son of Mir Jafar, had left a young son but Spencer and the Council decided to pass him over and make Najim-ud-daula, the second son of Mir, Jafar, Nawab of Bengal. For this they demanded and received presents amounting in all to nearly R140,000. This was all the more reprehensible because on the 24th January they had received positive orders from the Court of Directors that all servants and persons in the Company's service should sign covenants binding them not to accept, directly or indirectly, from Indian princes, any grant of land lands, rents, or territorial dominion, or any present whatever exceeding the value

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1. Long's Selection from Unpublished Records, p. 355.

of four thousand rupees, without the consent of the Court of Directors.<sup>2</sup> This order was quietly shelved and the proceedings of the Council were thus reported to the Court of Directors by Clive:—

“The opportunity of acquiring immense fortunes was too inviting to be neglected, and the temptation too powerful to be resisted. A treaty was hastily drawn up by the Board, or rather transcribed, with a few unimportant additions from that concluded with Meer Jaffir, and a deputation consisting of Messrs. Johnstone, Senior, Middleton and Leycester appointed to raise the natural son of the deceased Nabob to the Subahdarry, in prejudice of the claim of the grandson, and for this measure such reason are assigned as ought to have dictated a diametrically opposite resolution. Meeran's son was a minor, which circumstance alone would naturally have brought the whole administration into our hands, at a juncture when it became indispensably necessary we should realize that shadow of power and influence, which having no solid foundation was exposed to the danger of being annihilated by the first stroke of adverse fortune. But this inconsistency was not regarded, nor was it material to the views for precipitating the treaty, which was pressed on the young Nabob at the first interview in so earnest and indelicate a manner as highly disgusted him and chagrined his ministers; whilst not a single rupee was stipulated for the Company, and their interests were sacrificed that their servants might revel in the spoils of a Treasury before impoverished but now totally exhausted.”<sup>3</sup>

Such proceedings upon the part of members of the Council were now put a stop to for ever. Clive arrived in Bengal on the 3rd May 1765 and took charge of the government. On the 6th he assembled the Council. The Company's instructions were read and the names of the members who had been appointed to form a Select Committee to assist Clive in restoring order to the Company's affairs. The members of Council would have liked to dispute the powers of the Committee and the meaning of the general letter from the Court of Directors but they soon found that they had not a Vansittart to deal with. Mr. Leysester was told that no discussion on such a question would be allowed but he could record his dissent on the face of the consultations. Mr. Johnstone was asked whether he dared to dispute the Committee's authority and when he replied that he had not the least intention of doing such a thing “there was an appearance of very long and pale countenances, and not one of the Council uttered another syllable.”<sup>4</sup>

2. Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, Vol. II, p. 330 (note).

3. Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records*, p. 422.

4. Clive to General Carnac, 6th May, 1765, (Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, Vol. II, p. 320). Clive to Palk, 11th May, (Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, Vol. II, p. 324).

A few days after the arrival of Clive in India the Nawab paid him and the members of the Committee a visit in the course of which he gave a letter "filled with bitter complaints of the insults and indignities he had been exposed to, and of the embezzlement of near 20 Lacs of Rupees issued from his Treasury for purpose unknown during the late negotiations." "So public a complaint," wrote Clive, "could not be disregarded, and it soon produced an enquiry."<sup>5</sup> The Select Committee met on the 1st June and took this letter into their consideration upon which they resolved that "that Mahomed Reza Cawn, since the Death of the late Nabob, has distributed among certain Persons, near Twenty Lacks of Rupees—and that it is incumbent upon them to discover to whom such Sums have been paid, and for what Consideration: in order that the most effectual Measures may be pursued, to remedy for the present, and to prevent for the future any dangerous Consequences which may have arisen, or which may arise, not only to the Country Government, but likewise to the Company, from such Practices."<sup>6</sup>

On the 6th June Muhammad Reza Khan, the Nawab's deputy, was called upon to account for the large disbursements he had made from the treasury and delivered to the Committee what Clive calls a "most extraordinary narrative" in which "he specifies the several names, the sums by whom paid and to whom, whether in bills, cash or obligations. So precise, so accurate an account as this of money issued for secret and venal services, was never, we believe, before this period exhibited to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, at least never vouched by such undeniable testimony and authentic documents; by Juggut Seat who himself was obliged to contribute largely to the sums demanded; by Mootyram who was employed by Mr. Johnstone in all these pecuniary transactions; by the Nawab and Mahomed Reza Khan who were the heaviest sufferers; and lastly by the confession of the Gentlemen themselves, whose names are specified in the distribution list."<sup>7</sup>

Jagat Seth Khushal Chand, who had complained that sums of money had been unduly obtained from him by the deputation sent to Murshidabad, also appeared at this meeting of the Committee and submitted a narrative on the subject of his complaint. When examining him on this Lord Clive desired him to be most attentive to adhere to the truth whereupon Jagat Seth replied with warmth that he had put his seal to the narrative "and that that would go for a Crore of Rupees."<sup>8</sup> The narrative of Jagat Seth ran thus:—

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5. Long's Unpublished Records, p. 422.

6. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 315.

7. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 422.

8. General Carnac's Evidence. Thidr Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 321.

"When Mr. Johnstone and other gentlemen of Council, went to Moorshedabad, and applied themselves to the Regulation of the whole Subahdarry, they sent me the following Message by Mootyram:—"Make us some Acknowledgement, and we will settle all your Business according to your Heart's Desire, otherwise we shall be displeased, and your Business meet with no Assistance; for you formerly made an Acknowledgment to Lord Clive and other Gentlemen." I informed them that Lord Clive never said a Word on this subject, and that I did not give him even a single Daum. They sent me a Message in Answer as follows:—"You may not be acquainted with it, but your Fathers made an Acknowledgment; give us Five Laaks of Rupees." I answered, "Our Fathers never did give Lord Clive a single Daum." They replied, "If you would wish to have your Business go freely on, make us some Acknowledgement." Being remediless, I consented to give 125,000 Rupees; 50,000 immediately, and the rest when I could collect in my debts from the Country. The Gentlemen agreed to this and accordingly I sent them 50,000 Rupees by my Muttasuddies and Mootyram: In fine, there were none of my debts collected in when Mr. Johnstone, etc., returned to Calcutta: and I also came to Calcutta to pay my Respects to Lord Clive: so that thus the affair rested. Enquiry having been made of me, I have written these Particulars, in which there is by no means a Word of Untruth.

Written the 15th of Zechidja of  
the 6th Year, 5th June, 1765.

A True Translation.  
George Vansittart  
Persian Translator.<sup>9</sup>

On the 7th and 8th Mooteram, Governor of Hugli, was examined by the Committee in the presence of Jagat Seth and Muhammad Reza Khan, in order to determine whether he had been authorised to demand money of the Seths or "whether he presumed to prostitute the Character of the Gentlemen of the Deputation by making use of their names without the sanction of their express authority."<sup>10</sup>

His examination was as follows:—

Q. Did you go to Juggut Seet to demand money?

A. I did.

Q. Who sent you to Juggut Seet?

A. Mahomed Reza Cawn sent Ismael Ally Cawn with me to Juggut Seet.

Q. Who sent you to Mahomed Reza Cawn?

9. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 414.

10. Ibid.

A. Mr. Johnstone.

Q. What Message did you carry from Mr. Johnstone to Mahomed Reza Cawn?

A. I was ordered to desire him to ask the Seets for presents.

Q. Did any of the other Gentlemen join in this message to Mahomed Reza Cawn?

A. I had my Order from Mr. Johnstone only.

Q. Did Mr Johnstone send you in his own Name, or in that of the the Deputation?

A. He sent me in his own, and in the names of Messieurs Senior, Leycester and Middleton.

Q. What passed when you went to Mahomed Reza Cawn: did you ask him for Money from the Seets?

A. I did, I asked him for Three Laacks.

Q. What Day did you go to Mahomed Reza Cawn?

A. I cannot say for certain, but the Affair was about Twenty Days in settling.

Q. Can't you determine within a Day or Two of the Time you first mention?

A. I cannot, but it was about the Twenty-first of Rumzaun.

Q. What Answer had you from Mahomed Reza Cawn when you desired he would make this Demand on the Seets?

A. He first said, "Very well, I'll try what I can do; but on my application, he said, "It was very improper to ask Money of the Seets—it will get me a bad Name."

Q. Do you confess the Contents of Juggut Seet's Letter to be true?

A. I do.

Q. What did you say to Mahomed Reza Cawn about stopping the Business of the Seets unless they complied with the Demand?

A. I did tell him, that the Gentlement would protect their Business, if they would make a Present; if not, the Business of the Seets would meet with no Protection or Countenance.

Q. You say that Ismael Ally Cawn was sent with you to the Seets; what passed there?

A. When Ismael Ally Cawn demanded Three Laaks of Rupees for the Gentlemen Juggut Seet answered, "If the Gentlemen will be satisfied with Rings, Jewells, and such Presents, from Ten to Twenty-five thousand Rupees, I will comply." But on Ismael Ally Cawn's pressing him farther, he agreed to give 50,000, which was not accepted; and then Juggut Seet said "Well, I will speak to Mahomed Reza Cawn myself."

Q. Who was present at all this Conversation?

A. I was, but did not speak.

Q. Do you know how the Affair was settled?

A. Yes, I heard that Juggut Seet afterwards consented to give 75,000 Rupees, then he rose to a Laak, and at last consented to give 125,000. This I heard from Mahomed Reza Khan.

Juggut Seet being present at this Examination, was asked, "If he ever communicated the Conversation between him and Mootyram, as set forth in his Letter?" He answered, "Yes, to my Brother, to Brigauloul my Mounshy and to Chiskimull my Vakeel."

Q. Did you demand the Money of the Seets in your own Name, or on the Gentlemen's Account?

A. I demanded it on Account of the Gentlemen surely and those that sent me.

Q. When the Money was sent by Juggut Seet to M. R. Cawn's House, did he forward it immediately to Mr. Johnstone at Mootyjill in a Stackeree, and was Mr. Johnstone angry?

A. He did forward it to Mootyjill in a Stackeree, with which Mr. Johnstone was angry, and said, "Why was not the Money given to Mootyram, or sent more privately?"

Q. You are charged by Jagat Seet with having visited him Thrice, once when he was alone, once in presence of Ismael Ally Cawn, and once when his Brother was with him. Is this true?

A. It is true, I did visit him Thrice.

Q. Had you any Conversation with him about the Demand in any of these Visits?

A. I had I must confess. At the time I visited Juggut Seet when he was alone, he told me he would agree to give 75,000 Rupees to the Gentlemen, and desired I would represent to them that his Circumstances would not afford more, which I promised to do.

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Q. Was it of your own Accord, or was you ordered to tell Mahomed Reza Cawn, that if the Seets complied with their Demand, their Business should be protected, otherwise it would have no Countenance or Encouragement?

A. I was ordered by Mr. Johnstone.

Q. Is this Evidence which you give true in every Circumstance, according to the best of your Judgement?

A. It is, and I never will retract it; but if there should appear any Thing contradictory or unsatisfactory at first, it was owing to the Confusion I was under when brought before this Company.<sup>12</sup>

On the 18th June Mooteram attended a meeting of the whole Council. The evidence he had given to the Select Committee was read to him and he confirmed the whole of it except in the following particulars.

“To the first question, he now said, that he did go to Juggut Seet, by Mahomed Reza Cawn's orders, with Ishmael Aly Cawn, but not to ask for Money.

To the Question, What did you say to Mahomed Reza Cawn about stopping the Business of the Seets, unless they complied with the Demand? he answered to the same Purport as to the Committee, but made use only of the Term, *Cootch Boolega ny*, for what is rendered by the Committee, Meeting with no Protection or Countenance, whereupon the Committee observed, that he indifferently and repeatedly made use of both the Expressions *Cootch Syeur riga Ny* and *Boolega Ny*.

In his Answer to the subsequent Question, he now differed, saying, that Juggut Seet made no Offer of Rings or Jewels, but told them only, that as far as Twenty or Five and Twenty Thousand Rupees he would comply: that Ishmael Aly Cawn then said, that would not do: and Juggut Seet replied, that he would then speak to Mahomed Reza Cawn himself: and that when he went to him, he proposed the Sum of 50,000 Rupees.

To the Question, Was it of your own Accord, or was you ordered to tell Mahomed Reza Cawn that if the Seets complied with the Demand, their Business should be protected, otherwise it would have no Countenance or Encouragement? he confirmed his Answer to the Committee, using only the same Expression already remarked.

The Examination having been concluded.

Mr. Leycester desired the following Question might be put to Mootyram: If when Mr Johnstone related to him the Reasons why he thought the Seets might make Presents, whether he ordered him to mention them to Mahomed Reza Cawn and to desire Mahomed Reza Cawn would urge them to the Seets? which being put to him accordingly, he replied, That Mr. Johnstone did tell him to express himself to Mahomed Reza Cawn in the same terms which Mr. Johnstone did to him.

Mr. Leycester, in addition to the several Minutes already entered in Vin-

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12. The signature of Clive, W. B. Sumner, H. Vereist and Fra. Sykes are appended to this examination. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, pp. 415, 416.

dication of his Conduct.....desired further to take the following oath, which was accordingly administered to him by the President: viz.

I swear that I am totally ignorant of the Messages said to be delivered by Mootyram to the Seeta. So help me God.

(Signed) Ralph Leycester.<sup>13</sup>

Three questions arise with regard to this case. The first is this. Did the members of the Council receive these sums of money from the Nawab Mahomed Reza Khan and Jagat Seth? There is no doubt about the answer to this question. The members of Council acknowledged that they had received the presents and even tried to justify their conduct in this matter.

But were the presents freely given or extracted from the Nawab and Muhammad Reza Khan by pressure and extorted from Jagat Seth by menaces? The final judgment of the Select Committee on this point which was sent home to the Court of Directors was as follows:—"Juggut Seat expressly declares in his narrative, that the sum he agreed to pay the deputation, amounting to Rs. 1,25,000 was extorted by menaces, and since the close of our enquiry and the opinions we delivered in the proceedings of the 21st June, it fully appears that the presents from the Nabob and Mahomed Reza Khan exceeding the immense sum of 17 Lacs, were not the voluntary offerings of gratitude, but contributions levied on the weakness of the Government, and violently exacted from the dependant state and timid disposition of the Minister."<sup>14</sup> It will be noticed that the Committee express no opinion on the narrative of Jagat Seth but leave us to infer that Jagat Seth's statement had been convincing to them. And this would be a correct inference. Mr Sumner, a member of the Select Committee, afterwards altered his views with reference to the presents made by the Nawab and Muhammad Reza Khan and stated in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons that he thought they had been freely and voluntarily given but he declared that the evidence with respect to Jagat Seth remained unanswered.<sup>15</sup> General Carnac, in his evidence before the same Committee, stated that the Seths were not in the habit of making presents and he could remember no instance of their having done so before this period.<sup>16</sup> Mr. Leycester returned his present to Jagat Seth as soon as he heard that Jagat Seth had not given it with his free will and consent. General Carnac was at Murshidabad at the time and Jagat Seth, at a loss what to do in the matter, applied to him for advice. The

13. Consultation, Fort William, 18th June, 1765. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 438.

14. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 422.

15. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 317.

16. Ibid. p. 319.

General's advice was that if he had given the present willingly he should allow Mr Leycester to keep it but if not he should receive it back. Jagat Seth received it back and asked General Carnac whether he supposed any other member of the deputation would follow Mr. Leycester's example.<sup>17</sup> Undoubtedly then the presents were extorted from Jagat Seth by means of menaces.

The third question is, who was responsible for the use of these menaces? After hearing the evidence of Mootyram and reading the statements of the members of the deputation of the Council who went to Murshidabad the Select Committee unanimously decided that Messrs. Senior, Middleton and Leycester were not concerned in the menaces used by Mootyram while with respect to Mr. Johnstone they said "he appears, from the evidence entered in our Proceedings, to have been a principal agent and manager in obtaining and distributing the presents, but unacquainted, they would willingly suppose, with the menaces used by Mootyram, in his name, to Mahomed Reza Cawn and Juggut Seet, in order to extort a sum of money, from the latter, for the use of the deputation"<sup>18</sup> and echoing that hope we may leave the matter.

One curious fact is disclosed by the records of this case. A large part of the present made by the Nawab was paid by means of bills. One for Rs. 50,000 was drawn on "Seet Manan Chund and Annan Chund" while another, for a like amount was drawn on "Juggut Seet Futter Chund and Seet Anan Chund at Hoogly."<sup>19</sup> Both were in favour of Mootyram and payable at ten days' sight. Now all the bills used for the payment of the presents with the exception of two drawn on a banker of Murshidabad named Mootychund and one on a banker unnamed at Dacca, were drawn on the house of Jagat Seth. "Seet Manan Chund and Annan Chund" is therefore the house of Jagat Seth and Manan is a mistake for Manik Chand. The incident shows that as late as the year 1765 the names of Manik Chand and Fateh Chand were still used to designate the house of Jagat Seth.

On the 25th June Clive proceeded to Murshidabad in order to make an agreement with the Nawab by which the power of the Company might be placed upon a solid foundation. By this agreement the defence of the province was placed entirely in the hands of the Company and to support the army necessary for this purpose and also to pay the large sums still due to the Company as restitution for the losses it had suffered and to pay the tribute to the

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17. Ibid. p. 321.

18. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 313.

19. Ibid. p. 414.

Emperor, all the revenues of the province were handed over to the Company with the exception of 53 laks or £600,000, which was reserved to the Nawab for the expenses of his court and the administration of justice. Clive states that the young Nawab was delighted with an arrangement which placed a sum of money at his own will and pleasure and the only reflection he made when Clive left was, "Thank God! I shall now have as many dancing girls as I please."<sup>20</sup> At the same time the administration of the affairs of the three provinces was entrusted to a board of ministers consisting of Muhammad Reza Khan, Rai Durlabh Ram and Jagat Seth, for whose guidance Clive drew up the following paper:—

*Regulations for the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriza*

The Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowlah, Meer Nudjum-ul-Deen, Ally Cawn Bahadre, *Nazim*.

The Nabob Maeen-ul-Doulah Syed Mahomed Reza Cawn Bahadre, *Nayb*.  
Mharaja Doolabram Br., *Dewann*.

Juggut Seet Cooshaul-chund and Mharaja Odweichund, *Chiefs of Trade*.

The appointing and displacing of the Fougders, Aumils, and other Officers of the Nizamut, and the Regulations of the whole Business of the Revenues and the Country under his Excellency, shall be managed by the Nabob Maeen-ul-Dowlah Br. Mharaja Doolabram Br. and the Seths and his Excellency shall consent thereto.

If any One be oppressed, his Effects seized, or his Life endangered, the aforesaid Gentlemen shall use their Endeavours to put a Stop to such Proceedings, and if they suspect that it is not in their Power to put a Stop to them, they shall advise the Governor with all speed, that he may inform the Gentlemen of the Council or Committee of such Proceedings, and put a Stop to them.

After the necessary Expenses of Government have been provided for, if there be any Overplus, it shall be deposited in the public Treasury, under the Care of the aforesaid Gentlemen: and there shall be Three different Locks to the Door of the Treasury, and Three Keys: One to remain in the Possession of each of the aforesaid Gentlemen, that neither of them may be able to take out any Money without the Consent of the others.

Of these Three Gentlemen Maeen-ul-Dowlah Br. Mharaja Doolabram, and the Seets, if any one act contrary to the Opinion of the other Two, those two shall give Advice thereof to the Governor, that he may lay the matter before the Gentlemen of the Council or Committee and take proper Measures on the Occasion.

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20. Clive to Verelst, (Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, Vol. III, p. 125.)

Such Number of Horse and Foot shall be kept up as the aforesaid Gentlemen shall judge necessary for the Business of the Collections, and all needless and improper Expenses shall be reduced.

Let them remove from the Durbar all mischievous Men, deceitful and evil Counsellors, and not put it in their Power to make any Disturbance.

Let not the aforesaid Gentlemen go to the Durbar without each other's Knowledge, nor attempt any Thing to each other's Prejudice.

For the Preservation of Friendship and Harmony, and the Care of the Nabob's Affairs, and the Company's Money, a Gentleman of Council, of Probity and Abilities shall be appointed to reside at the Capital, on the Part of the Company. A monthly Allowance shall be made him by the Government, proportionable to his Rank; and the Accounts of the Receipts and Expenses, for the Business of the Government etc., shall be laid before him monthly for his Perusal."<sup>21</sup>

An annual allowance was made to the three ministers. Muhammad Reza Khan had nine lacs,<sup>22</sup> but the records consulted do not mention the allowance granted to Rai Durlabh Ram and the Seths. The Seths did not accept their appointment with any enthusiasm. They were by no means ambitious men, said General Carnac, and would gladly have dispensed with the share in the Government that was given them.<sup>23</sup> This plan of giving stability to the Nawab's government was also in danger of being subverted through the ambition of Rai Durlabh Ram and the excessive moderation or timidity of Muhammad Reza Khan so that Mr. Sykes, the Resident at Murshidabad, had to be instructed to keep a watchful eye over this minister and check every symptom he showed of aspiring to a greater share of the administration than had been allotted to him.<sup>24</sup> However in the treaty made in 1766 with the next Nawab, Seif-ud-daula, and in that of 1770 made with his successor, Mubarik-ud-daula, the same arrangement was continued.

On the 12th August, 1765, the Emperor Shah Alam made a formal grant of the Diwani, or financial administration of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the Company and Clive immediately appointed Jagat Seth Khushal Chand to be the Company's banker.

The fortunes of the Seths were now on the decline. As early as May 10th, 1765, they had written to Clive in the following strain:—"What shall we say or write or how sufficiently complain of our distressed situation? The tyrant

21. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, pp. 421, 422.

22. Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, p. 120.

23. First Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 319.

24. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, pp. 323, 427.

Meer Cossim causelessly called our fathers from hence in the most disgraceful manner, treated them with such violence and oppression as perhaps never before happened to any one even in a dream or in imagination, and unjustly put them to death. All the effects they had with them he plundered, and our younger brothers Set Golaub Chund and Baboo Mehirschund he carried with him, delivered them into the hands of the Mutasadies of the Imperial Court in lieu of a very large sum of money. For a long time they were kept prisoners and used with the greatest severity, and at length a very large sum was extorted from them which they were obliged partly to borrow and partly to raise by pawning jewels, and they were then released. Part of this money we have paid off by coining or selling our household utensils and jewels, and we are now distressed and embarrassed to find out means for discharging the rest."<sup>25</sup>

We do not possess Clive's reply to this letter but, no doubt the reply was an encouraging one and we have seen that Clive showed his regard for the family by appointing Jagat Seth one of the Nawab's ministers and treasurer to the Company. On the 24th November we find him writing to Jagat Seth:—"You are not ignorant what attention and support I always showed to your father, and how cordially I have continued it to you and the remainder of the family. Reflect only upon the manner in which I received you and how constantly I have given you proofs of my regard. It cannot, therefore, but be matter of great concern to me to learn that you do not consider seriously what part you ought to act to establish your own credit and public interest. Instead of keeping up to the original intention and necessity of having the Treasury under 3 separate keys, I find all the money has been lodged with your family in your house, and that you have been consenting at least to the farming of the Bengal province under the rents I am assured it will bear. I am informed also that you have been pressing the Zemindars to discharge their debts to your fathers at a time when they are 5 months in arrear to the Government. This is a step I can by no means approve of or allow. You are still a very rich House, but I greatly fear that tendency you seem to have to avarice will not only turn greatly to your disadvantage, but at the same time destroy that opinion I had of your inclination and disposition to promote the public good."<sup>26</sup>

In the same year we find that the Select Committee borrowed a lak and a half of rupees from Jagat Seth.<sup>27</sup> In April, 1766, Clive was again at Murshidabad. While there the Seths laid a claim before him for between fifty and sixty laks of rupees. Lord Clive in consultation with General Carnac and Mr.

25. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 416.

26. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 413.

27. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 461.

Sykes, decided that the Government were not responsible for 30 laks of this which had been lent to Mir Jafar for the support of the military officers of Mir Jafar but 21 laks had been lent to Mir Jafar for the support of his and the English army and they decided that this claim was just and reasonable. They recommended to the Council that this sum should be repaid, half by the Company and half by the Nawab, within the space of ten years.<sup>28</sup> On May 16th, 1768, the Court of Directors in sending their approval of this arrangement, added "family, who have suffered so much in our Cause, are peculiarly entitled to our Protection."<sup>29</sup>

Before Lord Clive left India in January, 1767, he is said to have offered Jagat Seth Khushal Chand a yearly pension of three laks of rupees which the latter declined. As Clive had said they were still a rich house and three laks of rupees might still be considered a comparatively insignificant sum by Jagat Seth Khushal Chand. There may have been signs that the years of plenty were coming to an end but if so, he paid no heed to them. We are told that his expenses amounted to a lak of rupees a month. In addition he made large donations to the Jain temples on the sacred hill of Paras-nath in Hazaribagh. "The oldest and most celebrated temple there is thought to have been built by them. The images within bear a Sanscrit inscription, showing that they were placed there in 1768 by Shuogal Chand and Heshiyal Chand. This is the temple now maintained by the panchayat of Murshidabad merchants. In a temple on the slope of the hill the images all show by their inscriptions that they were consecrated in 1765 by Shuogal Chand Jagat Seth; and each one of the many gumtis or petty shrines, which are scattered over the hill, purports to have been consecrated by the same man, who is apparently a brother of Khushal Chand. Another of the three chief temples is inscribed with the date 1816, and the name of Rup Chand Jagat Seth; and this apparently is the only temple still kept up at the expense of the family. It is stated to be in connection with the Digambara sect of Jains, but it is universally acknowledged that the Seths themselves used to belong to the rival sect of Svetambaras."<sup>30</sup>

The lean years were heralded by the great famine of 1770, which carried off one-third of the peasants and ruined two-thirds of the old aristocracy of Lower Bengal.<sup>31</sup> Then the allowance which the Seths received as ministers of

28. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 437.

29. Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, p. 122.

30. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, IX p. 264.

31. Hunter, Annals of Rural Bengal, p. 56.

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the Nawab was stopped and<sup>32</sup> and when, in 1772, Warren Hastings transferred the Government Treasury from Murshidabad to Calcutta the Seths ceased to be the bankers of the Company. Whether the prodigal expenditure of Khushal Chand exhausted the accumulated treasures of the family cannot be known for certainty. The story preserved in the family states that these were kept buried in the earth by Khushal Chand and that death came upon him with such suddenness that he was unable to disclose the secret of the hiding place. He died in 1783. His only son had died four years before him and after the death of this son he adopted Harakh Chand who succeeded him.

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32. Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, p. 120.

## CHAPTER 5.

## CONCLUSION.

When Warren Hastings was on his last tour to Upper India previous to his departure for England we are told that he received a petition from Khushal Chand praying that he might be re-instated in his hereditary office of receiver and treasurer of the Government revenues and that the Governor-General replied "your father rendered very important services to the British Government and for its establishment in the East; should it please God, on my return from my tour your wishes shall be fulfilled." When he returned he found that Khushal Chand was dead and his adopted son Harakh Chand was a minor. The Governor General expressed great sorrow at the news of Khushal Chand's death and at once interested himself in behalf of Harakh Chand. He wrote to the Nawab Mubarak-ud-daula:—"Nawab Sahib of exalted rank and dignity, admirer of the brethren, may you live long.

"After expressing my earnest desire, which cannot be described in writing for the happiness of an interview with you, I bring to your kind notice that a robe of honour consisting of six pieces, an ornament that is worn on the turban, a turban set with jewels, a necklace of pearls, an ear-ring with pearls and a palanquin with frills have been sent by me, through Sir John Daly to the kind gentleman, Seth Harakh Chand Sahib. I hope your noble self will be pleased to confer on the said Seth the title of Jagat Seth, to give him a seal and to allow him the privilege of being looked upon with the esteem and respect that his family have received this long time."

The Nawab's reply, dated the 11th March, 1784, was as follows: "Your esteemed letter—intimating that a robe of honour consisting of six pieces, together with an ornament that is worn in the turban, a turban set with jewels, a necklace of pearls, an ear-ring and a palanquin with frills have been sent by your noble self to Seth Harakh Chand, through Sir John Daly, a gentleman kind and helpful to his sincere friends; and that myself may confer on the said Seth the title of Jagat Seth, may give him a seal and allow him the privilege of being looked upon with esteem and respect as his family has been for a long time—having reached here, afforded great pleasure to my heart and gave me satisfaction in every way. May God spare your noble self—full of bounty, endowed with excellent qualities, incomparable in fulfilling the wishes of, and in doing favours to people high and low—to live long with safety and dignity.

As the said Seth has been honoured and exalted with the robe of honour I

also have given him, as desired by you, the seal with the inscription Jagat Seth Harakh Chand engraved on it."<sup>1</sup>

Thus Harakh Chand was confirmed in the title of Jagat Seth without any reference to the Court at Delhi.

The translator of the *Seir Mutaqherin* states that during the course of the troubles that fell upon Bengal the property of the Seths had been made away with everywhere and he thus contrasts the circumstances of the family in the time of Harakh Chand with their wealth in the time of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand "Will a Jagatseat now, after having been plundered by the Marhattas of full two Corors in Arcot Rupees only, give government the next six months bills of exchange for 50, 60 and a 100 lacks, payable at sight?—So far from that, Jagatseat has not been able to pay, but by instalments a bill of 140,000 rupees in 1787." Harakh Chand's pecuniary difficulties are said to have been removed by the inheritance of the fortune of an uncle, Gulab Chand.

Harakh Chand was the first of the family who abandoned the Jain religion and joined the sect of the Vaishnavs. He was childless and being extremely anxious to have a son he faithfully followed all the ceremonies enjoined by the Jain religion in such a case but with no result. At length a member of the Vaishnav sect advised him to propitiate Vishnu. He did so and obtained his desire. A son was born to him whom he named Indra Chand and three years afterwards another son was born who was named Vishnu Chand. Two years later he showed his gratitude by erecting the temple which has been described in a former chapter. Over the temple is an inscription in Sanskrit which has been translated thus:—"There was in the family of the Jagat Seths a scion named Sumer Chand, son of Mahtab Rai who was famous throughout the world and possessed wealth surpassing that of Kuvera. His son Harakh Chand was known for his great piety and excellence. He became the disciple of Ramานุja Das, an ascetic of the Vaishnava sect, who had come from the Vindhya Mountains and whose virtues shone resplendent like the moon. He consecrated this temple to the God Hari as a token of his gratitude to his preceptor in the year 1857 Samvat (1801 A.D.) May increased prayers be offered to the god at this place. Dated Monday the fifth day after the full moon in the month of Magh of the Samvat year 1857."

A modern writer is wrong in his conjecture that Harakh Chand lost prestige among the Jains by his change of religion. He and his successors have been respected as much as before by the members, of their old religion. In fact it is doubtful whether the members of this family ever renounced

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1. Copies of the Persian originals of these letters were supplied to the writer by the kindness of Khondkar Fazel Rubbee Khan Bahadur, Diwan to the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.

entirely their Jain religion. They continued to perform their funeral rites and marriage ceremonies in the manner in which they had been performed by their ancestors in Rajputana and as all the Oswals in the district of Murshidabad, who remained Jains, performed theirs. Not only so but they had their Jain gods;\* they paid the expenses incurred for the worship of those gods and even worshipped them themselves and listened to the words of the sacred books of the Jains.

Harakh Chand died in 1814 and was succeeded by his son Indra Chand who became the fifth Jagat Seth. Nine years later he followed his father to the grave. His title of Jagat Seth was recognised by the British Government. His brother Vishnu Chand received the title of Seth from the Nawab Nazim Deler Jang.

Gobind Chand, the son of Indra Chand, was the sixth Jagat Seth. He is said to have dissipated the remaining wealth of his ancestors. The following letter will help us to understand this and at the same time will show that the British Government still remembered the importance which was once attached to the title of Jagat Seth. The letter is from the Secretary to the Government of India and is addressed to "Juggut Seith Gobind Chand."

My Esteemed Friend.

I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter returning your thanks for permission to use a carriage and four and soliciting some Troopers for the same and other matters.

In reply I am directed by His Honor the Governor-General to intimate to you that it is not usual to allow Troopers, and a Sunnod is considered unnecessary.

I am further directed to inform you that Government cannot interfere between you and His Highness the Nawab Nazim.

Whenever you wish to proceed to Lucknow, and to Gwalior and Hyderabad, for which of course you must previously obtain the sanction of the Ruling Authorities of those States, a Passport will be granted to you, but it is unusual and objectionable on such occasions as the present to grant Letters of Introduction to the Residents at the Courts to which you wish to proceed.

I remain,

With much consideration,

Your sincere Friend,

(Sgd.) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,

*Secretary to the Government.*

Council Chamber,

23rd March, 1835.

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\* Some were of gold, some of silver, some of rare stone, some studded with jewels. Lord Curzon who saw them in 1902 remarked that he had never seen such curious idols before (Note by head of family).

When Jagat Seth Gobind Chand found himself forced to sell the family jewels he applied to the British Government for help and was granted a pension of Rs. 1,200 a month. The letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India, sanctioning the pension, runs as follows:—

1. In your Political letter dated 18th January (No. 1) 1843 you transmit to us two petitions from the widow and son of the late Jagatseth Indra Chand of Murshidabad representing their fallen fortunes and praying for a provision.

2. The petitioners are the representatives of the family and mercantile firm of Jagat Seth Mahtab Rao whose attachment to British interests and whose services to our Government in times when such services were peculiarly valuable are matter of History.

3. It does not appear that the present applicants have personally any peculiar claim upon us and the decline of the family seems to have been owing as much to mismanagement as to any unavoidable cause.

4. In acknowledgement however of the former merits of the House towards the British Government we acquiesce in your recommendation and that of Major-General Roper, the Agent at Murshidabad, for the grant of Rs. 1,200 per month to the present head of the family, Jagat Seth Gobind Chand. The family should be informed that the grant is for life only."

In 1844 Gobind Chand's cousin Seth Kissen Chand, the son of Seth Vishnu Chand, also applied for a provision. The Court of Directors, however, replied "When we granted a pension of Rs. 1,200 to Gobind Chand, it was with the intention of providing for the family and not for the individual and as it appears that Gobind Chand has no children we think he may reasonably be expected to set apart a portion of his stipend for the support of his cousin."<sup>3</sup> However Jagat Seth Gobind Chand continued to hold the pension entirely at his own disposal until towards the close of 1858 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in spite of the earnest protests of the Governor-General's Agent at Murshidabad, directed that one fourth of the pension should be appropriated to Seth Kissen Chand. This decision was rescinded the next year by the Secretary of State for India.<sup>4</sup>

The estimation in which Jagat Seth Gobind Chand was held may be judged from the following fact. At the marriage of the Nawab Feredun Jah robes of honour were distributed to all the important people of Murshidabad the value of which varied with the rank of the recipient. No one received a robe of honour of higher value than that received by Jagat Seth Gobind.<sup>5</sup>

Jagat Seth Gobind Chand died in 1864. Like many other members of the

3. Despatch of the Court of Directors No. 42 of 1844 dated 6th November, 1844.

4. Despatch from the Secretary of State for India, No. 55, dated 8th November, 1859.

5. List in Record Office at Murshidabad.

family he was childless but in his lifetime he had adopted a son, Seth Gopal Chand. The latter and Seth Kissen Chand made a joint application to Government in which they asked that Rs. 700 of his father's pension might be conferred on Seth Gopal Chand leaving Rs. 500 for Seth Kissen Chand. The result was that Government sanctioned a pension of Rs. 800 per mensem to Seth Kissen Chand on the understanding that it was for the support of himself and the rest of the family including the widow of the late Jagat Seth Gobind Chand. Seth Gopal Chand appealed against this decision, first to the Viceroy and then to the Secretary of State for India and in the end was offered Rs. 300 per mensem from the pension of Seth Kissen Chand. As the head of the family he felt it inconsistent with his position to accept such an arrangement. He died shortly after.

Seth Kissen Chand died in 1880. Meanwhile Jagat Sethani Pran Kumari, the widow of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand, had adopted a son named Golab Chand. The ceremony of adoption was performed according to the customs prevailing among the Oswals and in the family of the Seths and in accordance with the Hindu sastras. Almost all the Oswals of the district were invited to be present on the occasion and after the ceremony Golab Chand was considered to be the true son of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand for Hindu law makes no distinction between an adopted son and one begotten. "It is difficult to impress Europeans with the importance of those sanctions which make the custom of adoption so peculiarly sacred. One may here be mentioned. In the Sanskrit the divine ancient language of India, the word for son is puttra, and Manu, the highest authority for Hindu institutions, says that a son is called puttra because he is the instrument and the only instrument, for delivering his father and forefathers from the dread hell named Put; and though this derivation has no philological value, it explains better than anything that passion to have male issue, which is the characteristic of the Hindus, and that unutterable woe which oppresses those who die without either. Among the objects for which a son is wanted by a Hindu is certainly the perpetuation of the family, but the prime function which a son is to fill is to offer cakes to the manes of ancestors and perform those numerous religious ceremonies which are essential to their salvation. This function cannot be performed by any other relative however near, and in the case of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand there was no other relative who could fill it until the adoption of Golab Chand. But this function is filled by an adopted son as well as by a son of the body; and neither by custom, nor by religion, nor by law is an adopted son in any way different from a son of the body."<sup>4</sup> The legal aspect of the case has been given as follows;— Her

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6. Extracted from a memorial made to the Secretary of State for India by Jagat Seth Golab Chand.

Majesty Queen Victoria, through Lord Canning in 1858, assured the native princes and all her Indian subjects that any succession which may be legitimate according to Hindu or Muhammadan Law shall be upheld and in accordance with that pronouncement the succession, the state and dignity of many adopted sons of native chiefs and zemindars have been recognised by Government. Lord Dalhousie, notwithstanding his policy of annexation did not apply the principle of lapse in many cases of adopted sons amongst the chiefs of Marwar. In the family of Jagat Seth the validity and efficacy of the adoption of Jagat Seth Harakh Chand was recognised by the Government.

Hindu law makes no distinction between an adopted son and a son born of the body. (Mayne's Hindu Law, 7th Edition, pp. 214-216, and the authorities quoted therein).

Jagat Sethani Pran Kumari was granted a pension of Rs. 300 per mensem after the death of Seth Kissen Chand but when her adopted son approached manhood and was being recognised as the head of the house of Jagat Seth and the social leader of the Oswals, she again memorialised Government to increase her own pension or to grant a separate pension to her son. All her efforts were unavailing and so, too, were the efforts which Gobind Chand made on his own behalf after the death of Jagat Sethani Pran Kumari. This occurred in September 1891.

Jagat Seth Golab Chand was educated at the Nawab's Madrassa at Murshidabad, an institution founded under the patronage of the Governor General of India and the Nawab Nazim of Bengal for the education of the members of the Nizamat family and the admission of Jagat Seth Golab Chand to the school kept up the traditional close connection of the family of Jagat Seth with the Nawab of Bengal. Golab Chand was a very pious, simplehearted man and a staunch Jain. He had four sons and one daughter. Two of his sons, Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Udai Chand survived him. He died on the 8th April, 1912, at Calcutta.

Jagat Seth Golab Chand was honoured with a visit from the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, on the 1st March, 1902 which was thus described in the page of "the Englishman" of the 3rd March:—

"His Excellency the Viceroy and suite visited the dwelling-house of Jagat Seth at Mahimapur on his way back to Azimganj at about 2-30 p.m. to-day. On arrival at the gate the Commissioner of the Presidency Division alighted from his state carriage and introduced Jagat Seth and walked into the enclosure. His Excellency carefully inspected the ruins of the old Jain temple consisting of detached columns and arches made of granite being specimens of Jaina Buddhist sculpture, and was greatly interested. He then proceeded to the Hindu temple made of China bricks in 1801. The Viceroy next inspected the family

documents, consisting of firmans granted by the Emperors of Delhi to the ancestor of the present Jagat Seth and rare gold and silver coins from the 15th century downward, as also some jewels and a valuable idol. When leaving a nuzzur of ten gold mohurs was offered, which His Excellency touched and returned. A garland of gold lace was then presented and was kindly accepted. His Excellency in honouring Jagat Seth has honoured the whole Oswal community."

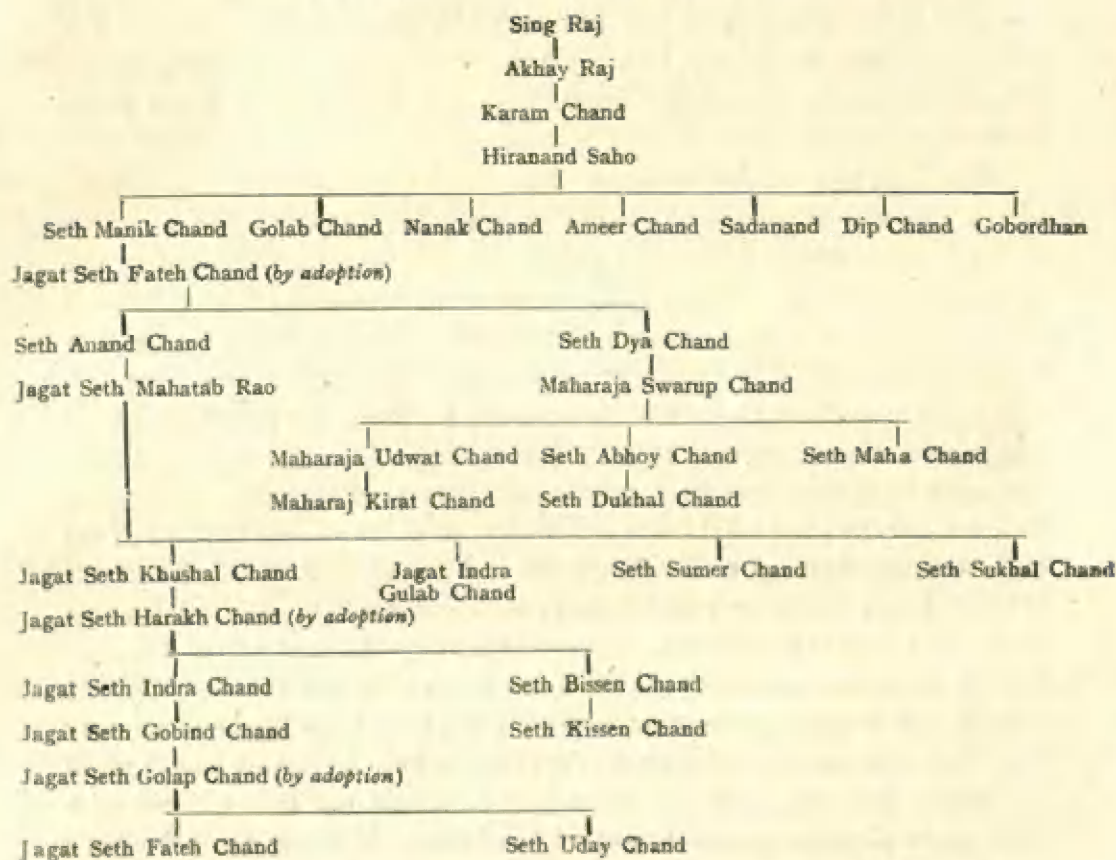
It was on this occasion that Jagat Seth Golab Chand presented the farman of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, conferring the title of Seth on Fateh Chand, to the Victoria Memorial. Other distinguished visitors to the house of the Seths were Sir John Woodburn, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Lord Kitchener, who was then Commander-in-Chief in India and the members of the Historical Society of Calcutta.

Jagat Seth Golab Chand was succeeded by his eldest son Seth Feth Chand who is generally recognised by his fellow-countrymen as the 8th Jagat Seth. He lives a short distance away from the ancient home of his ancestors for when he was a boy the great earthquake of 1896 hurled to the ground the part of the house that the scouring of the Bhagirathi had spared. His father then built the new house which he called "Jagat Seth's House." Blocks of brickwork which once formed part of the old house still strew the bank of the Bhagirathi. A few remnants of the old walls are still visible but the site is almost covered with jungle. A short distance down the river large blocks of masonry can again be seen—the ruins of the Jain temple built by Manik Chand when the family first came to Murshidabad. This temple was once adorned with finely covered columns and arches of touchstone—fit stone for a banker's temple. These were rescued from the river's maw and are to form the chief adornment of a new Jain temple of which Jagat Seth Fateh Chand laid the foundation stone in 1913. Early in 1914 he proceeded to Ajmir to celebrate the marriage of his brother, Seth Udai Chand with the daughter of Seth Bridhimul Lorah, son of Dewan Bahadur Seth Umedmul Lorah of Ajmir. He was welcomed by the Oswals from all parts of Rajputana as their recognised head—indeed the family of Jagat Seth claim to be the recognised head of the Jain community in India. In his community the priests of Jagat Seth are honoured above other priests. He himself, is the principal guest at their gatherings to whom they pay nazar and for whom they reserve the seal of honour or "masnad."

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7. The blocks of touchstone were brought from Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal. No other temple made of touchstone is found in any part of India (Note by head of family.)

## APPENDIX I.

*Genealogical Tree of the Jagat Seths.*

## APPENDIX II.

*Translation of the Hindi Note-book preserved in the family with additions to the present day.*

Hirananda Saha was an inhabitant of Nagore. He left Nagore and came to Patna on the third day of the new moon of the month of Baisak in the Samvat year 1709. He died at Patna in the Samvat year 1768 on the fourth day of the full moon of the month of Mag. He had seven sons Seth Manik Chand, Nanak Chand, Ameer Chand, Sadanand, Goberdbandas, and Dip Chand. He had also a daughter whom he gave in marriage to a son of Rai Udaichand.

Seth Manik Chand had two wives. He received the title of "Seth" from the Emperor Muhammad Farrakhsiyar on the 8th of Dilhaj in the third year of his reign. He died in the fourth year of the reign of this Emperor on the tenth day of the new moon of the month of Mag corresponding to the Samvat year 1771. He had no son so he adopted Fateh Chand a son of Rai Udai Chand in the Samvat year 1757. From this time the boy lived with Seth Manik Chand at Dacca. When Murshid Kuli Khan made Murshidabad the capital Manik Chand accompanied him and settled at Mahimapur in Murshidabad. When he died his remains were placed in the Manibag.

Jagat Seth Fateh Chand married a daughter of Rai Udaichand of Agra. After succeeding Seth Manik Chand he obtained the title of "Seth" from the Emperor Farrakhsiyar in the fifth year of his reign at Delhi. In the fourth year of the reign of Muhammad Shah he was granted the title of "Jagat Seth." The reason why he received the title of Jagat Seth was this:—There was a great famine at Delhi and when the Emperor ordered him to bring relief and to take a duna (pan given to those present at the durbar as a mark of honour) he respectfully prayed that it might be publicly announced that hundis should be circulated freely. The Emperor agreed to his proposal and proclaimed that those who wanted money should write hundis and obtain money. So the famine disappeared and money was plentiful in the city. The Emperor was highly pleased and conferred the title of Jagat Seth on Fateh Chand in return for his services. After that he returned to Murshidabad and died in the Samvat year 1801. His remains were placed in the Jagat Bisram. He had two sons Seth Anand Chand and Dya Chand. He had also two daughters.

Seth Anand Chand was born at Patna. He received the title of Seth from the Emperor Muhammad Shah in the fourth year of his reign. He died before his father. He had a son named Mahtab Rao.

Jagat Seth Mahtab Rao was confirmed in the title of Jagat Seth by the Emperor Ahmad Shah in the fourth year of his reign. He had four sons Khu-

shal Chand, Gulabchand, Sumerechand and Sukhalchand. He had also one daughter. He was killed by Mir Kasim in the Samvat year 1820 on the tenth day of the full moon in the month of Aswin.

Seth Khushal Chand was born at Dacca on the fifth day of the new moon of the month of Bhadra in the Samvat year 1810. He was confirmed in the title of Seth by the Emperor Alamgir 11 in the Hijri year 1170. He was confirmed in the title of Jagat Seth by the Emperor Alamgir 11 in the sixth year of his reign. He died in the Hijri year 1196. He had a son named Gokalchand who was born in the Samvat year 1815; but he died in the presence of his father in the Samvat year 1836 at the age of 20. Seth Golabchand received the title of Seth from the Emperor Shah Alam in the Hijri year 1173 in the first year of his reign. He obtained the title of Jagat Indra in the Hijri year 1196. He died on the eighth day of the new moon of the month of Baisak in the Samvat 1853. He had no sons.

Seth Sumer Chand received the title of Seth from the Emperor Alamgir 11 on the 2nd Rabi-ul-Awal in the sixth year of his reign. He died on the second day of the new moon of the month of Bhadra in the Samvat year 1838.

Seth Sukhal Chand received the title of Seth from the Emperor Alamgir 11 in the sixth year of his reign.

Jagat Seth Harakh Chand was born on the third day of the new moon of the month of Mag in the Samvat year 1828. He married a daughter of Hukum Chand Mahanat of Azimganj. He died on the eight day of the full moon of the month of Asar in the Samvat year 1870. He had two sons named Jagat Seth Indra Chand and Seth Bissen Chand. Harakh Chand was confirmed in the title of Jagat Seth by the British Government during the administration of Governor-General Warren Hastings through Mubarakud-daula the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa who presented him with a seal containing the words "Jagat Seth" in the year 1784.

Jagat Seth Indra Chand was born in the Samvat year 1852. He married a daughter of Rai Sing Singhee. He died on the fourteenth day of the new moon of the month of Mag in the Samvat year 1879. He had only one son named Jagat Seth Gobind Chand. The mother of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand died on the third day of the month of Agrahan in the Samvat year 1916 that is, the 12th December 1859.

Jagat Seth Gobind Chand was born on the tenth day of the full moon of the month of Aswin in the Samvat year 1867. He married a daughter of Harakh Chand Raka of Baluchar in the Samvat year 1882. He died on the 12th December 1864 at 4 A.M. He had no son. He adopted a boy named Gopal Chand. The British Government granted him a pension of Rs. 1,200

a month on the 1st July 1843 during the administration of Lord George Auckland.

Seth Bissen Chand was born on the eight day of the full moon of the month of Falgoon, on Wednesday, in the Samvat year 1855. He received the title of Seth from Delar Jung the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orrisa in the Hijri year 1221. He died at three in the morning on the eleventh day of the new moon of the Bhadra in Rangmehal Palace. He had only one son named Seth Kissen Chand.

Seth Kissen Chand was born on the third day of the month of Mag in the Samvat year 1873. He was granted the title of Seth by the British Government under Lord Willim Bentinck through Humayan Jah the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa on the third day of the full moon of the month of Mag in the Samvat year 1890. He received a pension of Rs. 800 after the death of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand. He died at Benares on the thirteenth day of the new moon of the month of Jaith in the Samvat year 1939. He had no son.

Maharaj Gopalchand was born on the fifth day of the new moon of the month of Aswin in the Samvat year 1896 and was adopted on the 23rd January 1845 A.D. He obtained the title of Maharaj from the Emperor Bahadur Shah with a gold umbrella on the eleventh day of the new moon of the month of Falgoon in the Samvat year 1909. He died on the fifteenth August in 1862 A.D. at 9 P.M. He had two sons the eldest died in his presence and the younger was named Gupichand. He was offered a pension of Rs. 300 which he thankfully declined.

Seth Dhokalchand received the title of Seth from the Calcutta Council on the 13th Agrahan 1228 Hijri. He had a son and a daughter whom he gave in marriage to the son of Harakhchand Sethia.

Gupichand was born on the 12th December 1878 A.D. on Friday. He died at the age of twelve in the presence of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand and Seth Kissen Chand.

Jagat Seth Golab Chand was born at Bikanir in Rajputana on the 29th November 1867. He was taken as an adopted son by the widow of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand on the third day of the new moon of the month of Baisakh in the Sambat year 1935. He married a daughter of Jaychand Baid in the Sambat year 1941. He had four sons of whom the youngest died in his presence. The eldest, Jagat Seth Fateh Chand, succeeded him. Lord Curzon paid a visit to the old and new houses of Jagat Seth on the 1st March, 1901, Sir John Woodburn on the 4th August, 1901 and Lord Kitchener on the 7th March, 1908. He was a staunch Jain. He died on the 7th April, 1912 at Calcutta.

Jagatsethani Pran Kumari, the wife of Jagat Seth Gobin Chand, died on the fourth day after the full moon of the month of Aswin at 3 in the morning in the Samvat year 1947. She was granted a pension of Rs. 300 by the British British Government after the death of Seth Kissen Chand.

## APPENDIX 3.

A Copy of H. H. the Nawab Humayan Jah's Durbar List.  
(from Nizamat Records)

Left-hand side.

1. Nawab Solat Jang,  
(grandson of Nawab Mujafar Jang—Naib-i-Nazim).
2. Seth Bissen Chand,  
(representative of Jagat Seth).
3. Diwan Raja Udmant Sing,  
(Diwan-i-Nizamat, Ancestor of the Maharaja of Nashipur).
4. Naib Diwan-i-Nizamat.
5. Mufit Muhammad Maizali Khan Saheb.
6. Maharaja Kirat Singha,  
(grandson of Maharaja Swarup Chand).
7. Seth Dhokalchand.
8. Raja Harnath Kumar,  
(of Cassimbazar).
9. Rai Girdhari Lall, (Diwan-i-Deory).
10. Rai Hari Sing,  
(Diwan-i-Deory Nawab Begum).
11. Rai Girdhari Lall,  
(Vakil-i-Nizamat, Calcutta).
12. Bijoy Kristo Rai,  
(son of Raja Mahanand, son of Raja Gurudass,  
son of Raja Nand Kumar).
13. Mahasaychandra Narayan Bangadhikari.  
and others.

## APPENDIX 4.

A copy of H. H. the Nawab Feredun Jah's Durbar List.  
(from Nizamat Records).

Left-hand side.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Tomson,  
(Agent of the Governor General at Murshidabad).
2. Maharaja of Ijanagar,  
(An independent chief).
3. Sir John Shore.
4. Jagat Seth Gobind Chand,  
(grandfather of present Jagat Seth).
5. Seth Kissen Chand,  
(representative of junior branch).

## APPENDIX 5.

EXTRACT OF THE FORT WILLIAM GENERAL CONSULTATIONS, DATED 29TH JANUARY 1772.

**Dr.** *Statement of the Debt due to Jugget Seet, showing how much of it has been [paid] to this day.* **Cr.**

To amount due to Jugget Seet, which was agreed to be paid him in the Space of 10 years, in annual Payments of 105,000 each as follows :		
By the Nabab ...	1,050,000	
By the honourable Company ...	1,050,000	
	<hr/>	2,100,000
By Sundry Payments to the 19th of Poos, Bengal year 1178.		
From the Nabab ...	515,000-0	
From the honourable Company...	546,375-12	
	<hr/>	1,061,375-12
By Balance due		
From the Nabab ...	535,000-0-	
From the honourable Company ...	503,624-4-	
	<hr/>	1,038,624-4
N.B.—Of the above Balance there is due from the Nabab.		2,100,000
To the end of the present year 1178 ...		115,000-0
From the Beginning of 1179 to the end of 1182. ...		420,000-0
	<hr/>	535,000-0
From the honourable Company to the end of the present Bengal year 1178. ...		83,624-4
From the Beginning of the Bengal year 1179 to the end of 1182 ...		420,000 0
	<hr/>	1,013,624-4

Compared, as far as regards the Company's Proportion, with the Books in the Accountant's Office.

*Charles Croftes, Accountant.*

Errors Excepted

*Moorshedabad, the 31st. December 1771.*

## APPENDIX 6.

*In the Name of the Holy and the Exalted (God).*

Mohammad Jahan Shah Bahadur Badshah Ghazi, son of Saheb Qiran II Abdul Fath Nasiruddin, son of Shah Alam, son of Alamgir, son of Shah Jahan, son of Jahangir, son of Akbar, son of Humayun, son of Babar, son of Omar Sheikh Shah, son of Abu Syud Shah, son of Sultan Mohammad Shah, son of Miron Shah, son of Amir Taimur Saheb Qiran. 1133 Hijiri.

Farman of Mohammad Nasiruddin Abul Fath, Badshah-i-Ghazi.

At this time near unto victory and closely allied to happiness, the world obeyed command of sunny lustre receives the honour of issue that, from the Court of Eternal Sovereignty, Seth Fatah Chand,—with the award of the title of Jagat Seth as hereditary distinction and the bestowal of magnificent robes of honour, an elephant and a pearl ear-ring,—and his son, Anand Chand,—with the title of Seth as hereditary distinction and the gift of robes of honour and a pearl ear-ring,—have hoarded the treasure of trust and dignity. It is proper that the civil and ministerial officers, and all the pen-men of the present and the future, living within the aforesaid Protected Territories should write Jagat Seth Fatah Chand as also designate his son Seth Anand Chand. They should deem this imperative from the side of His Glorious Majesty. Written on the 12th Rajab, in the 4th year of the Exalted Reign.

## APPENDIX 7.

Translation of a Persian letter from the Governor-General Warren Hastings to Mobarak-ud-Daula Bahadur Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. In the year 1784.

Nawab Saheb of Exalted rank and dignity admirer of the brethren may be safe and sound.

After expressing my earnest desire for a happy interview with you which cannot be described in writing, I bring to your kind notice that a robe of honour consisting of six pieces, an ornament that is worn in turban, a turban set with jewels, a necklace of pearls, a ear-ring with pearls and a palanquin with frills have been sent by me through Sir John Daly Sahib to the kind gentleman Seth Hurrack Chand Saheb.

I hope your nobleself will be pleased to confer on the said Sett the title Jagat Seth to give him seal and to allow him the privilege of being looked upon with esteem and respect as his family has been for a long time.

(Sd.) Warren Hastings.

## APPENDIX 8.

Government of Bengal, Political Department.

From—The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr, C.I.E., I.C.S.,

Offg. Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

To—The Commissioner of the Presidency Division.

Calcutta, the 17th January, 1916.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 429 J. P., dated the 27th November, 1915, regarding the correct method of addressing Fateh Chand of the Jagat Seth Family in the district of Murshidabad.

2. In reply, I am to say that the Governor-in-Council is pleased to recognise the long standing practice of his family and accordingly to direct that he should, in future, be addressed in official correspondence as "Jagat Seth Fateh Chand" without the prefix "Babu." I am to request that he may be informed accordingly, etc.

3. Etc.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) A. CASSELLS,

For, Offg. Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

MEMO. NO. 24J.P.

Commissioner Office, Presidency Division.

Dated, Calcutta, the 24th January, 1916.

Copy forwarded to the Magistrate of Murshidabad for information with reference to his letter No. 2960, dated 3rd November, 1915, for communication to Jagat Seth Fateh Chand.

By order

(Sd.) A. ISLAM,

Personal Assistant to Commissioner.

21-1.

MEMO NO. 24 J.G.

Dated the 24th January, 1916, from the Commissioner of the Presidency Division.

MEMO. NO. 5510 G.

Murshidabad, Collectorate,

Dated Berhampore, the 4th February, 1916.

Copy together with a copy of the enclosure forwarded to Jagat Seth Fateh Chand for information.

(Sd.) M. Bing.

For Collector

4-2-16.

## APPENDIX 9.

Thacker's Directory, 1865.

Mufussil, p. 204.

Murshidabad, in Bengal.

## Native Residents.

I. H. H. Munsoorally Khan Feredoon Jah,

Nawab Nazim of Bengal,

At Murshidabad.

II. Nawab Sufderally Khan Bahadur.

III. Nawab Syed Zuffurally Khan Bahadur.

IV. Nawab Azimally Khan Bahadur.

V. Jagat Seth Gobind Chand,

(Grandfather of the present "Jagat Seth").

VI. Rajah Ketter Chand, (Nashipur).

VII. Rajkissen Roy, (Cassimbazar).

VIII. Ranee Shymasundary.

Supplied  
for the Public  
Service.

Home Dept.  
the Govt. of India.

Thacker's Directory  
for  
Bengal, N. W. Province.  
Almance.

p. p. 165.

Calcutta  
Home-Dept.  
Library.

# The History of the College of Fort William III.

*(Continued from Vol. XXII.)*

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The question of the continued existence of the College of Fort William was again raised at this time in consequence of a letter from the Accountant-General (H. Wood, Esq.) in which he stated his opinion that Government would be wise to advance the amount of the debt contracted by the Salt Agent at Jessore under certain conditions, on the security of a policy on his life. Mr. Wood went on to charge the College of Fort William with being the cause of debts contracted by young civil servants during the first six months of their residence in Calcutta. Mr. Wood openly advocated the abolition of the College on this ground, and proposed that young civilians should be spared this temptation to extravagance by being sent immediately on arrival to some Mofussil station. In order not to lose the linguistic advantages of the College Mr. Wood recommended that the qualification in two languages exacted by the College of Fort William should be required from students at Hertford College as an indispensable acquirement to entitle him to quit the College.

He considered that "the same proficiency which is now made by Civilians in the Native Languages in this country might be more cheaply purchased in England, for the average expense of the College during the past 5 years including the rent of the Writers' Buildings has amounted to 158,508 which at the exchange of 2 shillings the rupee amounts to £15,850 per annum, for which on the average about 19 individuals have been returned fit for the active duties of the Service." Mr. Wood estimated that by teaching these languages at Hertford College instead of in India an annual saving of £10,150 would be effected. A Resolution by the Governor-General in Council deplored the pecuniary embarrassments of Civil Servants and expressed His Excellency's determination to do all in his power to put a stop to the practice of borrowing unhappily so prevalent. His Lordship was entirely disposed to adopt the suggestions of the Accountant-General for the relief of these gentlemen who were involved in debt, by authorising advances to the extent which may be covered by Life Insurance subject to the payment of interest at 4 per cent. and to an annual repayment of one-tenth of the principal sum in addition to the premium on the policy, these payments to be made by

deductions from salary. In cases where these deductions would not leave an adequate annual income His Lordship in Council was prepared to make some special arrangement. In connection with this resolution all officers of the Civil Service who might wish to avail themselves of it were expected to intimate their wishes to Government within two months submitting at the same time a schedule of their debts.

The Accountant-General's letter was also sent to the College Council for such remarks as the President and Members might wish to offer. Long minutes were recorded by the College Council upon the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Wood and the premises upon which it was based.

Mr. Harington the President agreed that the temptations to expense were greater in Calcutta than they could be in a Mofussil station, but he did not think that exemption from debt would be secured to young civil servants by sending them to Mofussil station immediately on arrival in as much as the principal part of the expense incurred was inevitable unless a civil servant brought with him a credit from his friends in order to meet the cost of his first equipment. He consequently could not see any sufficient reason for abolishing the College of Fort William in the admitted existence of this tendency to run into debt, which was by no means certainly attributable to the College itself. Mr. Harington also doubted whether the linguistic advantages of the College of Fort William could be equally well obtained in England and at a less expense as alleged by Mr. Wood. Arabic and Sanskrit might perhaps with advantage be learnt at Hertford, but not the vernaculars, and it was highly expedient and merited recommendation to the Honourable Court of Directors that the students at Hertford should be restricted to Arabic and Sanskrit as far as respects their studies in the languages of Asia. (December 29th, 1824.)

Mr. W. B. Bayley's minute agreed in the existence of general indebtedness of civil servants, but attributed this to the insufficient allowances of the civil servants on first arrival. While the scale of allowances was the same as that fixed by Lord Cornwallis 35 years before, the conditions of life and the state of society had so far altered as to render the original allowances far from sufficient. In the days of Lord Cornwallis it was the custom for young civil servants to be received as guests by some resident family in Calcutta, while on removal to the Mufussil he was almost as a matter of course accommodated in the house of the gentleman to whom he was attached as an assistant. "With very rare exceptions," he says, "the young men are now compelled both on their first arrival in Calcutta and on their proceeding to the interior as assistants to maintain an establishment of their own." Such an

establishment was necessarily expensive and as no part of the salary allowed was payable until two months and a half after their arrival, young men were compelled to contract debt unless some separate provision had been made by their parent or friends to meet the expenses of their first establishment. To this first inevitable debt Mr. Bayley traced many instances of hopeless embarrassment and some even of ultimate ruin and disgrace. Removal to the Mufussil would in no way meet this initial difficulty and life in the College tended rather to modify than to aggravate the evil, by virtue of its disciplinary restraint. Mr. Bayley, therefore, could find in Mr. Wood's remarks no ground for abolishing the College of Fort William. He also traversed Mr. Wood's suggestion as to the expediency of teaching the native languages in the College at Haileybury.

Mr. Holt Mackenzie's minute was long and rather discursive. He had waited for the receipt of reports regarding the debts of civil servants and these led him to agree that the excessive debt were mainly, if not entirely, attributable to residence in Calcutta in the early days of service and he could not conceal from himself the large share of blame attributable to the College of Fort William. However, Mr. Holt Mackenzie considered, that by inconsiderable changes in the system according to which the (Civil) service was constituted all the evils might be avoided and all the advantages secured. The first change of system advocated by Mr. Mackenzie was the detention of civil servants in England until the age of 21 and the institution of conditions of service which would virtually ensure a selection of men above the average in talent and acquisitions. He refers to Lord Wellesley's original minute on the foundation of the College in support of this contention, but remarks that Lord Wellesley laid undue stress upon the importance of civilians coming to India at an early age and also lost sight of the jealousy with which his proposal to give certain advantages to the possession of Collegiate Honours from the College of Fort William would be regarded in England. Mr. Mackenzie's proposal amounted to this. Keep men longer at Haileybury and a less time at Fort William but do not abolish that College. Mr. Mackenzie advocated the institution of a prize of 800 rupees to every student who might during the voyage to India master some moderately easy oriental work: or be found on his arrival to have reached a given standard of proficiency.

He further recommended the re-establishment of the public table without imposing any strict obligation of attendance, and to furnish the Writers' Buildings for students, so as to save their expense at the outset of their Indian career.

His last recommendation was the enactment of special legal measures

to restrict the lending of money to civil servants. Mr. Harington in a minute of April 1st on Mr. Mackenzie's minute opposed the restoration of the public table.

Mr. W. B. Bayley referring (in a further minute dated April 2nd) to Mr. Mackenzie's minute mentions that the list of debts showed 12 individuals of less than 16 years' service whose debts amounted on an average to 1,20,000 rupees. This state of things was the rule not the exception in the civil service. These 12 individuals had on a general average been attached to the College for upwards of 3 years while their contemporaries who were free from debt had left the College (*i.e.*, qualified for the Public Service) in less than half that time. This fact Mr. Bayley considered shewed plainly how idleness and extravagance go hand in hand and manifested the importance of strictly enforcing the rule requiring the removal into the interior of any young man who after a trial of two months was found not to be making due progress in his studies. If the strict enforcement of discipline should not be found to reduce the tendency to incur debt Mr. W. B. Bayley would advocate the abolition of the College "in the full persuasion that no advantages which can be derived from it will be sufficient to compensate for the hopeless embarrassment and state of dependence to which one half the service appear to be now subjected." Mr. Bayley was not in favour of restoring the public table.

The list referred to is to be found at page 117 of Proceedings Vol. X. The list comprises 32 civilians referred to by letters A to Z and AA to AH. Of these X who was 36 months in the College owns to a debt of 2,53,000 rupees (£25,300) so that the allegations made by Mr. Wood were fully justified even if his arguments as to the influence of the College were not exact. These minutes were referred to Government on the 14th. April, 1825, and the decision of Government is contained in a letter of the 21st April of which the general tenour is as follows:—While recognising the inducements to contract debt to which the junior civil servants were exposed while attached to the College, His Excellency did not think it indispensable to abolish the College, but in his anxiety to maintain it His Excellency had anxiously directed his attention to the expedients which might be devised for securing a continuance of its benefits while at the same time preventing "those mischiefs which so lamentably detract from its acknowledged usefulness." The causes of this contraction of debt were recognised to be:—1. The allurements of the capital. 2. Emulation in expense called forth by vanity. 3. The facilities offered for anticipating the fulfilment of the promising prospects of young civilians. 4. The circumstance of their receiving no pay till ten weeks after arrival in India.

As prodigality is the concomitant of idleness the remedy for this lay in the hands of the College Council who were in future to apply strictly the rules prescribed in the Sixth Chapter of Statutes providing for the removal of students after two months of unsatisfactory progress. To meet unavoidable sources of indebtedness His Lordship in Council sanctioned advances of about two or three thousand rupees to any newly arrived student really in need of pecuniary assistance, to be repaid, without interest, by moderate instalments. The provision of furniture for the rooms in Writers' Buildings was also sanctioned under the charge of the Secretary to the College, students being held responsible for the due care of the furniture. His Lordship in Council did not consider the restoration of the public table advisable on the ground of economy, considering that its salutary effects would be in no degree commensurate with the burthen it would entail on the funds of Government. The other recommendation, *viz.*, the restriction of the oriental studies at Haileybury College to Arabic and Sanskrit, the institution of the reward of 800 rupees for work done on the voyage, and the restraining of loans to civil servants, were to be submitted for the consideration of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

With reference to the appointment of Lieutenant Hugh Todd of the 21st. Native Infantry to officiate as an Examiner in the College, the Council suggested to Government that it would be advisable to fix a period within which an officer so appointed should qualify by obtaining two degrees of honour as required by the Statutes, and in the mean time that he should not be allowed to draw the full emoluments of the office. At the request of Government upon this reference, the College Council recommended a period of not more than three months from the date on which the officer might commence the discharge of his duties as officiating Examiner to be fixed for the production of the degrees of honour requisite to his confirmation in it, and that his salary during the period he might officiate be not more than one half of the fixed allowance. (9th May, 1825). This was approved by Government (12th May, 1825).

W. Thacker & Co. of St. Andrew's Library were asked by the College Council to sell on commission 100 copies of a new edition of the Prem Sagar with vocabulary at 20 rupees a copy. (24th May, 1825).

Mr. W. B. Bayley was appointed President and Mr. A. Stirling member of the College Council *vice* Mr. J. H. Harington who had succeeded to a seat in the Supreme Council. (28th April, 1825).

On the 4th May, 1825 the College Council addressed the Government upon the subject of a proposal by Captain Macan to publish a collected edition

of the "Shah Namah of Firdoosee." They lay stress upon the necessity for providing a really trustworthy edition and refer to the untimely discontinuance of the edition commenced by Dr. Lumsden on account of the heavy and uncertain expense which his proposals involved. Captain Macan's present proposal was, they said, entirely free from uncertainty as to time or expense and the cost of the whole edition would be so small in comparison with the edition projected by Dr. Lumsden that they strongly recommended its publication. They also pointed out the altered condition of affairs since the prohibition of the continuance of Dr. Lumsden's proposed edition and emphasised the impossibility of producing a work of this nature without public aid. The offer made by Captain Macan was to collect all the available manuscript copies at an estimated expense of seven thousand rupees and to engage that should he not be able to publish it himself he would give up the corrected copy to Government on condition of receiving from Government a subscription for one hundred copies at one hundred and fifty rupees a copy should the publication of the work be ultimately sanctioned by the Court of Directors and completed under his superintendence. The College Council concluded by strongly urging the Government and the Honourable Court to embrace this opportunity of securing the reputation to be gained by the publication under the exclusive patronage of this noble work. (Letter dated 4th May, 1825). Captain Macan asked for three years in which to complete his task. The work was to be comprised in 3 volumes large quarto of 550 pages each volume and to the last volume was to be added a life of the author and if leisure permitted, some observations on the poem. The edition was to consist of 500 copies of which the total estimated expense was 25,000 rupees of which 7,000 rupees were for the expenses of collection and 18,000 rupees for printing at the Mission Press. The Indian manuscripts were in Captain Macan's opinion useless. Of eighteen which he had examined not one was to be relied on even for the two couplets together. Two Persian manuscripts of the Shah Namah of old date were promised him from Delhi, he had borrowed another which had belonged to the late Prince Jahangire. A fourth Persian copy was expected from Benaras and two Captain Macan possessed in his own Library. The College Library possessed two copies written in Persia and a third written in Arabic. Three copies were obtainable by the aid of Government from the Library of the King of Oudh and one perhaps the oldest and best in India from the Library of Nawab Buber Jung at Murshidabad. These latter copies Captain Macan could procure by his own influence but thought it would be attended with some advantages were it known at the Native Courts that the Government had undertaken to publish this great National Poem.

Government sanctioned the collection of these manuscripts on the 12th

May, 1825, but felt constrained to refer the question of publication to the Honourable Court. They also objected to the price fixed by Captain Macan for the subscription copies. The College Council replied that it was to the Government subscription alone that Captain Macan must look to guard him against loss, and said that this patronage implied encouragement, not simple barter.

The correspondence is well worth reading. It will be found at pages 145 to 162 of Proceedings Vol. X.

On the 16th June 1825 the College Council submitted to Government representations based upon the reports of the Secretary and Professors of the College regarding the measures advisable to check the extravagant habits of the students and to maintain a more efficient system of discipline. These recommendations were as follows:—(1) A loan not exceeding 4,000 to be granted by Government to any student who might arrive in the country unprovided with funds or with a sufficient credit or who from causes which the College Council might consider sufficient stood in need of pecuniary assistance. This loan was to be granted free of interest and was to be repaid by deductions from their pay in such proportion as might leave them an income of 500 rupees a month and no more until the whole debt was discharged.

(2) That 10 or 12 sets of rooms of the Writers' Buildings should be plainly furnished at the public expense.

(3) That a certain scale of establishment and equipage (fixed with Government approval (20th October, 1825) by the College Council at:

One Buggy, one Palankeen, one Buggy horse, one Saddle horse, two Saeses, two grasscutters, one set of bearers, a cook, Khansaman, Khidmutgar, Masalchee, Tailor, Dhobee, Hurkara, Mehtar. The expense of all these should not exceed 150/- rupees a month, (Proceedings X, pp. 324-325) and should be laid down as sufficient for the reasonable comfort of students and any equipment beyond this scale should be strictly prohibited subject to the penalty of immediate removal from Calcutta.

(4) Prohibition of expensive entertainments, racing and hunting, and other pursuits obviously leading to considerable expense. The discipline proposed was of a domestic nature and the Government stood in a parental relation to the Junior civil servants.

Should these principles be approved by Government the College Council would submit a draft of such rules and instructions as appeared to them sufficient. The restrictions must be precise and definite in order to enable the Officers of the College and the College Council to enforce them with effect.

The College Council also proposed eight months as the limit of residence in the College except when a student had been delayed in his studies by ill

health. An exception was also to be made in the case of a distinguished student who might desire to stay longer at the College to obtain a more intimate acquaintance with the native languages.

Option was also recommended to be given to proceed at once to Mofussil Stations instead of becoming attached to the College.

The College Council were prepared to draft a new chapter of Statutes embodying these rules should they meet with approval.

To encourage intercourse between students and the College officers the Council recommended that the salaries of the Professors and the Secretary should be restored to their former standard, or failing this that an equivalent sum should be at once granted them as a Table Allowance. The Council concluded by pointing out that were it made evident that extravagance and pecuniary embarrassment were considered as a bar to promotion and discouraged in this way by Government, it would be far more effectual than all rules in checking extravagant habits among the students.

The College Council in anticipation of the sanction of Government employed Mr. Sevestre to furnish 12 sets of rooms at an estimate of 1348 rupees per set. As each set of rooms was allowed 12 chairs, a couch, a set of dining tables, three side tables, three teapoys, a book case, and a couch cot with mattress, pillows and china gauze curtains trimmed at the bottom with silk, the students could not complain. Indeed in view of the habits of economy it was desired to encourage, the provision of 12 chairs and a large dining table does not seem very logical.

On the 23rd June Government agreed to the proposals of the College Council with the exceptions of the limitation of the period of attachment to the College and the option to be given of going at once to the Mofussil, neither of which was in the opinion of Government desirable.

Government, however, declined to restore the salaries of the Professors to the former standard, but agreed to restore the salary of the Secretary Captain Ruddell to its former standard of 1,000/- "in addition to the established commutation for military allowances when this responsible appointment is held by a Military Officer." Captain Ruddell also held the post of Superintendent of the Madrissah on 300 a month. Government further signified their intention of rigidly exercising all the means in their power to repress extravagance among the students. Accordingly the Eighth Chapter of Statutes was drafted and received the approval of Government on the 18th. August, 1825.

The question of throwing open the College Library again came before the College Council upon whom Government called to draw up regulations for that purpose with a view to its being carried into effect. The College Council in

their reply (Proc. Vol. X, page 277) expressed a doubt as to the extent to which the orders of the Honourable Court were intended to apply. Was it intended that responsible persons should be permitted to visit the Library and consult books there? If so, such provision already existed. If on the other hand, persons were to be allowed to borrow books from the Library, the Council feared great loss and inconvenience. The Library had already sustained great loss and by lending books to persons not in the service of the Company. In 1824 the number of books out on loan was 1284 of a value of 28,335 rupees. Of these only 875 volumes had been restored or paid for but the remaining 409 volumes must be considered as a dead loss. The present care of the Library prevented the recurrence of similar losses, under the restricted privileges, but the Council feared that under a general license to take out books the occurrence of similar losses would be inevitable.

It seemed to them doubtful whether any plan could be devised which would answer better than the existing plan. Left unshackled by formal rules the Secretary and Librarian would sufficiently meet all the wishes of the reading portion of the community and attempt to regulate what should be a matter of grace and favour and consequently of discretion would be attended with loss, trouble and disappointment. It appears from a letter written by the Secretary Captain Ruddell on the 24th August, 1825, that a Catalogue Raisonnee was at that time being prepared, but no trace of any such work now remains, either in English or any oriental language. Captain Ruddell was strongly opposed to any throwing open of the Library to the general public and with excellent reason as his letter shews (Proc.: Vol X, pages 281-283).

In accordance with the expressed wish of Government the Examiners (Lieutenants Gordon and Todd) were requested by the College Council to prepare an English translation of that part of the catalogue in Persian containing a description of the Arabic and Persian works belonging to the College which would be delivered to them for the purpose as it was finished by Maulvi Ikram Ali. The Council would recommend them to Government for a suitable reward for this service.

At pages 292-293 Proc. X, appears a list of books presented by the College of Fort William to the Asiatic Society under date 12th September 1825. On the 10th October, 1825 Mr. H. H. Wilson wrote to Government proposing to publish a series of translations of original Sanskrit plays and asking for the support of Government. The College Council upon this letter being referred to them for opinion, gave Mr. H. H. Wilson's proposal their strongest support and recommended Government to grant Mr. Wilson 3,000/- to enable him to print his translations, in return for which grant, he should be required to furnish fifty copies.

Captain Ruddell appointed to officiate as Examiner during the absence of Lieutenant Todd with his Regiment on active service (10th November, 1825).

Messrs. Frederick James Halliday and G. T. Lushington were the first junior civil servants to avail themselves of the loan of 4000 on the 9th November 1825. The loans were disbursed by the Secretary to the College Council.

Captain Ruddell on the 22nd. November applied for permission to join his Regiment the first European Regiment which was under orders to proceed towards Agra and to continue with it until it might appear expedient to allow him to return to the discharge of his duties in the College. Government, however, declined to give Captain Ruddell the permission he sought as his services could not be spared.

The quarters in the Writers' Buildings ten in number selected for the accommodation of students were ready on the 12th December 1825. Students who proposed "to chum together" were requested to inform the Secretary. The Oriental Institute at St. Petersburg applied through the Russian Ambassador to the Honourable Company for certain oriental works.

In June 1826 Government subscribed for 100 copies of a collection of proverbs called Bahudurshan by Nilratan Halder—in English, Latin, Bengali, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. The book was published at the Serampore Press in 1826.

On the 4th August 1826 Government sanctioned the subscription for 60 copies of a Persian version of the Qamus proposed to be printed by Maulvis Abdur Rahim and Qazim Ali of the College of Fort William at 200/- a copy. On the 10th. August, 1826 Government sanctioned a subscription for 100 copies of the Fatawa Alamgiri proposed to be published by the General Committee of Public Instruction at 50/- per copy.

On the 4th August 1826 Mr. Henry Shakespeare was appointed President of the College Council and Mr. H. G. Christian a member of the Council of the College of Fort William.

The Asiatic Lithographic Society of Park Street, Chowringhee, wrote on the 24th July 1826 proposing to print the Durrul Mukhtar and Fusul-i-Imahee and asked for the patronage of the College to the undertaking. The College Council recommended to Government a subscription for 100 copies and this was authorised on the 17th September, 1826. Issued in 1827. This Library possesses one litho copy of the Fusul Imadee but none of the litho copy of the Durrul Mukhtar. Of the latter work this library has only a copy printed at Hooghly in 1846.

On August 17th 1826 Mr. P. Breton, Superintendent, Native Medical Institution, presented to the College a copy in Hindustani of his Treatise on Mineral

Poisons—Receipt acknowledged August 23rd 1826. Also on the 8th November, 1826, Dr. Breton presented a "Pocological Table" translated into the oriental languages." Receipt acknowledged 14 November, 1826. Also on the 13th June, 1827, Medical tracts translated into Hindustani on Vegetable Poisons and the organs of generation. Also on November 20th, 1827, a treatise on Dislocations in Hindustani, May 15th, 1828, Anatomy of the Urinary Organs-in-Hindustani in the Persian and Nagree characters.

Pages 562-564 Proceedings Vol. X contain a list of books transferred from the Library of the College of Fort William for the use of the Government of Bombay (December, 1826).

Government purchased the remainder (122 copies) of Dr. Lumsden's Arabic Grammar (published at 32/-) at 10/- a copy (30th October 1826). In November 1826 the quarters occupied by the professors and examiners *viz.*, Nos. 3, 17, 18, 19 of the Writers' Buildings were ordered to be vacated with a view to their being furnished for the use of students a larger number being expected to arrive shortly to join the College. In consequence of this Captain Price and Lieutenant Ouseley applied for compensation either as an increase of salary or as an equivalent in the shape of house rent. The College Council recommended a grant of 200/- a month to each of the professors and examiners who reside in Calcutta, *viz.*, Captain Price and Lieutenant Ouseley, Gordon and Todd, from the 1st November, 1826. Government, however, declined to accede to this recommendation. On the 4th December, 1826, the College Council forwarded to Government a prospectus for a new translation into English from the original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta's History by Lieutenant Col. John Briggs, Resident at Sattara. (Proc.: X, 619-621). Government in reply authorised a subscription not exceeding six guineas a copy for ten copies of the work.

On the 1st February 1827 Captain Ruddell proceeded to Murshidabad to examine the students at the College recently established there, and obtained leave of absence till 1st April. Lieutenant H. Todd appointed to officiate as Secretary. On the 7th April copies of certain oriental books were supplied from the Library of the College for despatch to Fort St. George for the use of the College and other institutions. Upon the departure of Lieutenant Gordon for Europe Captain Ruddell offered himself to perform the duties of the vacant office of Examiner, and this arrangement was sanctioned 19th April 1827.

Proceedings XI, pages 89-92. List of Books sent from the College for the use of the civil examination Committee, Bombay.

Munshi Yusuf Ali, aged 66, having served since the first foundation of the College, was granted a pension of 20 a month on the 10th May 1827 on account of total blindness.

Captain Price was awarded Rs. 1,000 honorarium for assisting Munshi Tarini Charan Mittra in editing the Hindee and Hindustani selections (31st May, 1827). Captain Macan on the 8th May, 1827, reported the completion of his collation of the manuscripts of the Shah Namah. The seven thousand rupees authorised to be paid to Captain Macan on the completion of this task was paid on the 24th May, 1827.

Glass sashes were sanctioned for 79 windows of the Writers' Buildings at a cost of 38-8 each, upon the representation of the College Council to Government of the heat and discomfort caused by the want of them. At the same time a representation was made to Government that the accomodation in the Writers' Buildings was insufficient for the wants of the College. The College Council applied to Government for permission to rent suitable quarters, at the rate of 150 per mensem for each individual. This was sanctioned on the 14th June 1827. Messrs. Alexander & Co., Agents for the Loudoun Buildings expressed their willingness to let them to Government at 250 sicca rupees a month for each house without furniture and if Government desired would put them in a fit state to be immediately occupied. The letter continues "The Buildings now vacant are Nos. 2, 3 and 4, Hastings Street, 8 and 9 facing the Government House, Nos. 12 and 13 of the South Range facing the Treasury and we expect that No. 5, Hastings Street and 16 South Range will be also soon vacated which can be reserved if desired by the College Council." Upon the report of the Secretary Nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 12 and 13 were reserved for the College apartments and the furniture originally put into them was valued at 650 per set of rooms. The rooms were engaged from the 20th June, 1827, at a furnished rental of 275 a month. Messrs. Burn & Co. were engaged to fit up the quarters. About this time Writers' Buildings were struck by lightning and injured and in consequence lightning conductors were fitted to the building by Mr. Barwell the Landlord.

On the 9th July 1827 the College Council addressed Government upon a proposal made by the Asiatic Lithographic Society to print the well-known Arabic Medical Work named "the Moojiz" with a commentary on the same called the Sudeedee (Proc: XI, pages 207-210) and recommended Government to subscribe for 100 copies at 20 rupees a copy. Sanctioned 16th August 1827. This sanction was apparently withdrawn on the 12th September 1827 (See Proc: XI, page 386) and the work was ordered to be printed under the auspices of the General Committee for Public Instruction.

On the 12th July 1827 Maulvi Abdur Rahim applied to the College Council for assistance in publishing an Arabic Grammar in Persian the material for which he had been engaged in collecting since 1809 and it formed the ground work for Dr. Lumsden's Arabic Grammar of which only one volume was published. The publication of this work was strongly recommended by the College Council who advised Government to subscribe for a hundred copies at 22 a copy. (Sanctioned 16th August 1827).

Government also authorised a subscription for 200 copies of the Revd. Mr. Yate's Introduction to Hindustani at seven rupees per copy. (19th July 1827).

The accounts of the College in the year 1826 to 1827 shewed a saving of 26,500/-. On the 25th July Captain Onseley, Professor of Arabic and Persian, applied for assistance in the discharge of his duties in consequence of the increase in the number of students. The College Council addressed Government on the subject recommending the appointment of an Assistant Professor. The number of students in the Persian class was 44, a number far beyond the power of any one to instruct properly. These were taken in divided classes between the hours of 9 a.m. and 4 p.m. without intermission. Government, however, refused to accede to Captain Onseley's request for the appointment of an assistant professor. (Letter 2nd August, 1827).

At this time a difference arose between the College Council and their Secretary with reference to the procedure for granting loans to students. The President considered the procedure far too lax, and an encouragement to junior civil servants to incur a debt. He, therefore, instructed the Secretary to send in a certificate with each application for the loan, to the effect that he had personally satisfied himself that the loan was necessary and that the student was aware of the obligations its acceptance imposed upon him. This the Secretary objected to on the ground of want of time and the President (Mr. Shakespeare) referred the matter to Government for decision with the minutes of his colleagues. Mr. Molony dissented from the President's opinion that the loan should be made in dribblets the expenditure of which was to be checked by the Secretary. To this Captain Ruddell had quite reasonably objected as tending to destroy the confidence which had always existed between him and the students and exciting in their minds jealousy and distrust of him. He proposed, however, that the student asking for the loan should append a statement of his real requirements and of the way in which he proposed to spend the advance if granted. He deprecated any interference of a vexatious nature.

Mr. Macnaghten considered that some regulation was necessary to counteract the thoughtless tendencies of youth and guard the students against taking

a loan which they did not really require, to their future embarrassment. Some preliminary enquiry should be made and some admonition expressed. Every student, he remarked, came out provided with a letter of credit of from £100 to £500, and yet, in only two cases since the institution of the loan, had it not been availed of. Every student should be required to state explicitly what was the amount of his credit.

Mr. Macnaghten supported the President and could not attach any weight to the objections urged by the Secretary.

At this distance of time, reading Captain Ruddell's letter one cannot but feel that his objections were entirely valid and that both Mr. Shakespeare and Mr. Macnaghten were swayed by prejudice in their minutes. (Captain Ruddell's letter occurs at pages 246-253 *Proc. : Vol. XI*). In his opinion hunting was responsible for the neglect of study and want of discipline.

Captain Ruddell certainly made out a good case, and one's sympathies are entirely with him when he concludes by asking for an increased salary to be in some degree adequate to the duties of the Secretary, in addition to an Assistant Secretary and Librarian.

Government, however, decided against Captain Ruddell, and refused to appoint an assistant Secretary or to increase his salary. They, however, suggested that one of the Examiners might retrieve him of the charge of the Library and of the students' furniture. Lieutenant Todd was asked to take these charges and refused. The College Council returned to the charge over the question of the refusal of Government to appoint an assistant to the Professor of Persian and Arabic and also supported Lieutenant Todd in his refusal to take charge of the College Library and to assist the Persian Professor on grounds they approved. Captain Onseley had pressed upon the Council the absolute impossibility of his performing his duties singlehanded, the more so as in consequence of the newly instituted system of examination in England; the next batch of candidates who had not been at Hertford might be expected to be wholly ignorant of the Persian character. Mr. Shakespeare objected to this letter going to Government and wrote a minute against it to accompany the letter. He was evidently a man who thought that it was the policy of Government to get as much as they could for their money irrespective of all considerations of justice or expediency.

Mr. Macnaghten wrote a strong minute of dissent from the President's opinion in support of the position that an assistant Persian Professor was essentially necessary. Coming from a scholar of such high attainments this expression of opinion should have had great weight with Government. Mr. Molony concurred with Mr. Macnaghten.

The Government, however, took the view of the President (probably on the ground of economy) and directed Lieutenant Todd to assist Lieut. Ouseley by giving two lectures in the week to a portion of the students. Government also declared that it was desirable a second Examiner (in the place of Lieutenant Gordon) should be appointed as soon as possible and requested the College Council to furnish a "list of the Military Officers formerly attached to the College who are qualified according to the statutes to fill the appointment."

On the 18th October, 1827 Mr. Molony was permitted to resign his office as member of the College Council and Mr. Stirling resumed the position thus rendered vacant.

On the 12th November, Lieutenant J. A. Ayton offered his services to the College for the purpose of ascertaining the contents of a larger collection of manuscripts purchased for the College Library by Mr. Hodgson of the Nepaul Residency. There were 127 volumes described by the Secretary as "ponderous." (Pages 346-350 Proc: XI). Lieutenant Ayton's offer was referred to Government. Neither Captain Price nor Dr. Carey who were referred to for their opinion, seemed to think Mr. Ayton should be given access to the books in order to enable to form some judgment of the task and of his competency to perform it. It was finally decided that Mr. Ayton was not competent to the task and his offer was declined.

On the 22nd November, 1827, Lieutenant I. O. Becket was appointed as Examiner in the College but resigned after a few months. On the 17th January, 1828, the Reverend T. Proctor was appointed to officiate as an Examiner in the College on half allowances. It does not appear from the records that Mr. Proctor possessed the statutory qualifications for the office.

The Honourable Court in August, 1827, had written declining to sanction the proposed subscription for 150 copies of Macan's Shah Namah. On the 19th December Captain Macan wrote to Government and informed them that His Majesty the King of Oude intended to subscribe for 150 copies of the Shah Namah. In acknowledging this letter His Lordship in Council gave permission to Captain Macan to receive the proffered subscription and said that they were aware of no objection to this act of munificence being recorded in the preface to the work. (Proc: XI, page 451).

On the 4th February, 1828 a further contribution of oriental works was made to the University of Copenhagen through Dr. Wallich. Proc: XI, page 469.

On the 6th February, 1828, a completed catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Books in the College Library in four folio volumes was submitted for the inspection of Government by the Secretary to the College Council with a request for a Treasury order for eleven hundred rupees, of

which 800/- was to be paid to Maulvi Ikram Ali, and 300/- to Munshi Mahmood Saka for their labours in connection with the preparation of the catalogue. The catalogue was returned on the 14th February, with the treasury order. The system of advances to students was discontinued by the order of Government on the 5th June, 1828, (Proc: XI. 569). Finally discontinued 15th August, 1828. In a public letter dated 19th December, 1827, the Honourable Court of Directors again raised the question of the early if not immediate abolition of the College on the grounds of the extravagant habits leading to indebtedness which the students had been shewn to contract there. These disadvantages in the opinion of the Honourable Court far outweighed any advantages shewn to be derivable from the continuance of the College. Upon the receipt of this letter the College Council called for an expression of opinion from the various officers. These were generally strongly opposed to the abolition of the College although the Secretary Captain Ruddell wrote a rather glaring indictment of the whole system of discipline.

In submitting their opinions for the information of Government the College Council stated that measures might be devised to improve the existing system. The Governor-General before deciding upon the general question called upon the College Council for a statement of the specific measures they would recommend. The College Council replied that in their opinion the existing system of the College neither required material alteration nor was it susceptible of any great and extensive improvements. The College was not justly chargeable with the evils imported to it by the Honourable Court of Directors, although in some minor details its disciplinary system might admit of modification and amendment. Since the date of their former report great improvement had taken place and the Council were now able to affirm that the College was in as high a state of efficiency as it could ever reasonably be expected to attain. They advocated, however, the introduction of some penalty intermediate between a reprimand and expulsion. With a view to the better control of the students they advocated also the allotment of permanent quarters in the Writers' Buildings for some of the Professors and Examiners. They also wished to propose that a volume of Persian selections should be prepared but were unable to do so in consequence of the orders prohibiting any proposals involving increased expenditure. They also recommended the substitution of quarterly for the two-monthly examinations, also that the period of stay in the College should be extended to twelve months.

In August, 1828, the Reverend Mr. Proctor, acting examiner, obtained a Degree of honour in the Persian Language. On the 4th September Mr. Proctor applied to be permanently appointed in spite of the fact that he had not obtained a Degree of Honour in a second language. He hoped that his knowledge

of Arabic and Hindee might be accepted as equivalent to the Degree of Honour in a second language (Bengali) which he hoped to obtain before long. While fully accepting the College Council's assurance upon the question of Mr. Proctor's ability and industry, His Lordship in Council declined to deviate from the rule under which the award of a second degree of honour was made a condition precedent to any person's obtaining the permanent appointment of Examiner, (12th September, 1828).

In February 1829 the Secretary to the College Council in applying to Government for a further grant of Rs. 3,000 to defray the cost of manuscripts (Nepalese and Thibetan) purchased by Mr. Hodgson for the College Library, recommended that for the present no further purchases should be authorised of these Manuscripts as there was already a large number in the College Library lying undeciphered. Government approved of this procedure (6th February 1829). In 1828 the system of upcountry examinations was instituted, the oral portion being taken by the local committee and their report together with the written exercises returned to the College Examiners.

On the 2nd June 1829 Government decided that with a view to more efficient control of the students of the College, all the writers whether stationed in or out of Calcutta should be placed, until duly qualified, under the superintendence of a single officer subject to the direct authority of the Governor-General in his capacity of Visitor. The Secretary was accordingly vested with the immediate control of the students whether stationed in Calcutta or in the mufussil. The Secretary was empowered to admonish the offenders and was ordered to report all offences of an aggravated nature to the Visitor for further action. Upon all other points not connected with discipline the Secretary was to report as heretofore to the College Council and obey their orders.

The Governor-General in Council had also determined to recommend to the Honourable Court that all writers who might prove incorrigible should be suspended and sent to England, with the option of being transferred to the Military Branch of the service.

On the 21st July 1829 the "Hodgson" collection of books and manuscripts in the languages of Central Asia were with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council to be transferred to the Asiatic Society. On the 31st the Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Mr. H.H. Wilson, informs the College Secretary that the manuscripts can be received into the Society's Library at any time which may be convenient. On the 5th August 1829 the Civil Finance Committee wrote through their Secretary Mr. J. H. Bannerman calling for a statement of the several officers attached to the College of Fort William "explanatory of the duties required from each, and to furnish at the same time any suggestions, facts or documents calculated to assist their judgment in considering whether

and in what degree the expenses of the Institution are susceptible of reduction without countervailing disadvantage." No suggestions could be offered.

On the 19th August 1829 Lieutenant G. T. Marshall, Interpreter, Regiment Native Infantry, was reported fully qualified for the appointment of Military Interpreter.

On the 25th July 1829 Mr. H. H. Wilson wrote asking the College Council to favour him with a copy of each work published under their patronage to be presented to the Royal Asiatic Society in England. (The list of these books occurs at pages 536-537, Proc. XII). The Reverend Mr. Proctor obtained a Degree of Honour in Bengalee on the 29th September 1829 and was confirmed in the office of examiner on the 15th October of the same year.

On the 22nd September 1829 ten copies of Colonel Briggs' New English version of Ferishta's History were received into the College Library, with a copy of his Shah Namah and enquired whether the College intended to subscribe for a few copies of the work. "If, however," he proceeds, it should be necessary to obtain the sanction of Government for this purpose, I request no application may be made as Government has already declined patronising the work and I have no wish to submit to the mortification of further refusal." The College Council in reply regretted their inability to purchase more than two copies of the work and agreed to take two additional copies in exchange for certain books selected by Captain Macan. Among these was the Diwan-i-Shams-i-Tabriz which the College Council could not spare as their Library possessed only one complete copy. (There is no copy of work in the library now 1902).

On the 28th January, 1830 the College Council sanctioned the purchase of ten copies of Mr. Lewis Da Costa's translation into Hindustani of Tytler's Elements of General History, in sheets at 25 rupees set. This was subsequently completed by the translation of Dr. Nare's Elements of General History (Proc: XIII, page 89).

At pages 696-697 Proceedings Vol. XII occur two letters of more than ordinary interest each addressed to the Secretary of the College. The first is without date, and is as follows:—

Sir,—Having a Brother at Kurnaul, I am anxious to proceed to that station with another brother and sister who have accompanied me from England, I will therefore feel particularly obliged if you can obtain permission for my so doing, as I shall thereby be saved the necessary expenses attending my stay in Calcutta and as I have already studied the languages with my Brother he may be of assistance in my further prosecution of them.

I have the honour to be, etc.,  
(Signed) JOHN L. LAWRENCE.

The second letter which bears date Calcutta, February 11th, 1830.

Sir,

Being very desirous that my Brother Mr. John Lawrence who has lately arrived from England as a writer, should accompany me up to Kurnaul, I will feel obliged by your obtaining permission for his so doing. My only motive in making this request, is my belief that I will be of advantage to my brother both in pecuniary way and with respect to his studies, as I purpose reading with him and from my experience may be of assistance to him.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed). HENRY M. LAWRENCE,  
Lieutenant Artillery.

John Lawrence was admitted to the College of Fort William on the 10th February, 1830. He was born 4th March, 1811, at England. Appointed 1827. Arrived 10th February, 1830. Studied Private School (No. 737, Admissions of students Vol 3.)

The brother referred to in John Lawrence's letter above quoted, was George Lawrence. I cannot say who the sister was.

A reply was received from Government dated 2nd March 1830, permitting Mr. John L. Lawrence to proceed to Kurnaul to study the oriental languages under the superintendence of his Brother at that station, Proceedings Vol. XIII.

In 1830 the Governor-General in Council acting upon the suggestions of the Civil Finance Committee determined to make a radical change in the system of the College of Fort William. It was announced to the College Council in a letter dated the 23rd February 1830 that Government had decided to discontinue the Professorships together with the situations of the munshis and pandits attached to these officers respectively, and to confine the establishment of the College for the future to a Secretary and two Examiners with the requisite number of pandits and munshis under the Secretary for the instruction of the students. It was further proposed to the College Council that in view of this contemplated reduction it would be right to offer to the senior officers of the Institution the option of accepting one of the offices of Examiner, and in case of their acceptance dispensing with the junior officers. After some representations on the part of the various officers of the College, as to the hardship they would severally suffer by the new arrangement, it was finally decided by a resolution dated May 4th 1830, General Department, that from the 1st June 1830 the three Professorships of the College of Fort William shall be abolished and lectures to the students shall be discontinued. That from the same date Dr. Carey receives a pension of 500/- rupees per mensem payable at the General Treasury. That a third examiner be appointed to the College on a salary of

500 rupees per mensem, and that the three examiners be Captain Price, Lieutenant Onseley and Lieutenant Todd. Captain Price applied to be allowed to retain the allowances he held as Professor, but the College Council declined to forward his application in view of the positive orders of Government. The following Munshis and Pundits were discharged from June 1st with the pensions against their names.

<i>Persian Department.</i> —Kurrum Husyne	...	Rs.	100	0	0	per mensem.
Ubdoor Ruheem	...	"	38	5	0	" "
Nuzur Ooollah	...	"	50	0	0	" "
Budur Alee	...	"	40	0	0	" "
<i>Hindee Department.</i> —Tarini Charan	...	"	100	0	0	" "
Meer Bukhsh Alee	...	"	50	0	0	" "
Murtuza Khan	...	"	40	0	0	" "
<i>Bengalee Department.</i> —Ram Komar	...	"	100	0	0	" "
Guddadhur	...	"	50	0	0	" "

The Reverend Mr. Proctor's services were dispensed with from June 1st. Captain Ruddell remained in the office of Secretary. In order in some degree to compensate for the discontinuance of instruction in the College, the Council directed that from the 1st June students at the Presidency should be required to attend the examinations in the language they might be studying once a fortnight at the College Hall when such exercises both written and oral should be given as might be sufficient to test their progress in the languages. The results of these fortnightly examinations were to be reported to the College Council. They also considered it desirable to have a grammar of each language taught in the College with exercises prepared on an easy and simple plan. At this time Dr. Carey proposed to institute lectures at the Serampore College to take the place of the discontinued course of lectures at Fort William College, and applied to Government to sanction junior civil servants availing themselves of these classes, permission being accorded to them to enter their names each term, renewal of the permission being made dependent upon their due attention to their studies at Serampore. The Government, however, declined to accede to Dr. Carey's proposal. A grammar of Bengalee with exercises was to be prepared by Lieutenant Todd and the Reverend T. Proctor, Government subscribing for 200 copies at 8 a copy. Captain Onseley proposed to publish a similar volume of grammar and exercises in Persian and asked Government to subscribe for 300 copies at 14. Government, however, replied that they would prefer the plan of granting a distinct gratuity and enquired what sum the College Council would consider a fit gratuity in this case. The Council referred the question to Captain Onseley (Proceedings XIII, 465).

On the 1st March 1831 it was notified that 12 months had been fixed by

the Honorable Court of Directors as the period within which junior civil servants must qualify in native languages. Mr. H. Shakespeare on this date resigned the College Council and the Secretary was directed till further orders to report direct to the Government or Visitor in all cases requiring reference. This appears to mark the discontinuance of the College Council (See Proc: XIII, 512).

On the 29th March a letter was addressed by Government to the College Council informing them that in pursuance of orders from the Honourable the Court of Directors the College of Fort William would be abolished on the 1st June, 1831; however, on the 24th May a further letter was received informing the College Council that this intention had been relinquished and that the Institution would continue in operation until further orders. The Government also stated that in view of the short time allowed for qualification in two languages, subject on failure to the penalty of removal from the Company's service, the standard fixed was too high and suggested that it should be lowered.

Pages 642 to 648 Proceedings Vol. XIII are occupied by a list of surplus books in the College Library the sale of which was recommended by the Secretary Captain Ruddell. By Government letter dated 20th September, 1831, the disposal of these books by sale by Messrs. Tulloh & Co. was sanctioned. Proceedings XIII, 664-671. On the 26th September, 1831, a further supply of Bhotan books received from Mr. Hodgson of Nepaul was transferred to the Asiatic Society (XIII. Proc: 663). In consequence of the unsatisfactory way in which the mufussil examinations were conducted and the frequent occurrence of fraud in connection with them, a form of certificate was introduced to be signed by the supervising officer. XIII. 684.

From April till November, 1831, Lieutenant Todd was absent on sick leave to Java and the Strait of Malacca, Mr. Proctor acting for him during his absence.

On the 19th November, 1831, Captain George Turnbull Marshall of the 25th Regiment Native Infantry obtained a Degree of Honour in Persian. Diploma signed "Metcalf" 21 November, 1831.

On the 31st October, 1831, the Committee of Public Instruction applied to Government for the transfer free of cost to the Depository of the Education Committee of the Oriental Books which had been sent to Messrs. Tulloh & Co. for commission sale. These comprised in all 9116 volumes of which 102 had been sold on the 25th January, 1832 (Proc: XIV, page 115). The remaining volumes were made over to the General Committee of Public Instruction by order of Government issued 31st January, 1832.

Major William Price vacated his office on promotion to a majority and on the 30th December, 1831, was granted a certificate testifying to the good services he had rendered the College for a period of 18 years. (XIV. Proc: 61). Pages 76 to 88 are occupied by a list of books on loan from the College Library submitted to Government by Captain Ruddell who was on the eve of departure on leave to England. Government on the 27th December, 1831 sanctioned Captain Ruddell's making over charge of the duties of Secretary to the College from the 1st of January, 1832. On the 11th January, 1832 Captain Ruddell writing from H. C. S. *Minerva* at sea, resigned his office of Secretary to the College of Fort William. On the 17th January Lieutenant Todd was appointed Secretary to the College of Fort William and Secretary to the Madrassa and Muhamedan Schools vice Ruddell resigned. Mr. Proctor was on the same date appointed Examiner in succession to Lieutenant Todd.

In February, 1832, five writers were ordered to return to England in consequence of not having qualified themselves by the requisite knowledge of the native languages to enter upon the public service within the time prescribed by the Honourable the Court of Directors. Their allowances ceased from the date on which they were removed from the College of Fort William.

There is no doubt that the effect of the abolition of the tutorial staff of the College was making itself felt in the inefficiency of the junior civil servants as had often been predicted.

On the 19th March, 1832, Captain I. W. I. Ouseley was directed to take charge of the appointment of Secretary to the College of Fort William and on the 21st March the first letter signed by him after taking charge reports the demise of Lieutenant H. Todd, Secretary to the College at 12 midnight of the 20th March. The notice of this officer's death, aged 28, is in the Government Gazette of March 22nd, 1832, as having occurred at Calcutta but I cannot find his name in the Bengal Obituary nor in Indian Monumental Inscription (Bengal) so that his place of burial remains uncertain.

On the 17th April Captain Onseley was appointed Secretary and Librarian to the College of Fort William and on the 24th April was appointed to act as Examiner until the nomination of a successor to that office or until further orders. Captain G. T. Marshall was appointed Acting Examiner on some date prior to 10th July, 1832, on which date he signs a report as Acting Examiner with the Reverend Mr. Proctor. This appointment was made on the 22nd May, 1832, until further orders. (XIV. Proc: 202). Captain Marshall reported his arrival on the 8th July, 1832. On the 22nd September, 1832, was reported qualified for a Degree of Honour in Hindustani and on the 25th September a letter from Government announced the appointment of Captain Marshall (See Appendix Portraits) to be Examiner on the 31st July, though

it appeared that the intimation of the appointment was not communicated on that date (XIV. Proc: 303). Captain Marshall's diploma bore the signature of Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and was dated 21st September, 1832.

On the 13th January, 1833 Captain Marshall was recommended for ten days' sick leave to proceed on the River in consequence of a dysenteric attack. At this time the attention of the Governor-General in Council was attracted to the fact that several instances had occurred of writers obtaining a certificate of qualification for the public service in the short period of six weeks given them to prepare for their return to England after exceeding the limit of time prescribed for acquiring the languages. An explanation of this fact was called for from the College. This explanation was given by the Examiners (XIV. Proc: 489-491).

In July, 1833, the College represented to Government that a great want was experienced of copies of several of the books made over by the orders of Government in January, 1832, to the General Committee of Public Instruction and asked that orders might be issued to that Committee to supply the College with such of the works as they might require for use in the College on indent. This was sanctioned (See Library Letter Book of 6th July, 1833). In December, 1833, Captain Ouseley, Secretary to the College proposed to Government to compile a second volume of Annals of the College of Fort William on the lines of Captain Roebuck's work, bringing the records of the College up to date from the year 1819. Government, however, expressed an opinion that the continuation of Captain Roebuck's work was not required.

A resolution of the General Department 1st February, 1834, notified that the vacancy in the College of Fort William caused by the departure of the Reverend Thomas Proctor (late Examiner) for England, would not be filled up and directed Captain Ouseley to assist Captain Marshall in conducting the examinations, the former without salary.

In October, 1833, Government intimated that it was not their intention to continue renting the Writers' Buildings after the expiration of the existing lease (which expired 1st May, 1834). Accordingly in April, 1833, the Secretary to the College addressed Government on the subject and recommended seven writers who were then residing in the Buildings to be granted House rent at the usual rate of 80/- a month. There were other students attached to the College but as they were residing with friends they were not recommended for house rent. Captain Ouseley also recommended that the present College building should be retained if it could be secured on reasonable terms. It consisted of the three centre numbers of Writers' Buildings which it will be remembered were thrown into one, and fitted up at considerable cost to Government in 1820. Captain Ouseley's recommendation was mainly based

upon the necessity for a suitable building for the accommodation of the "exceedingly valuable Library of books."

Captain Ouseley in his letter (Proc: XV, pages 130-133) gives a brief history of the foundation of the College Library by Lord Wellesley. He states "The oriental portion of this Library is probably unequalled in point of value and extent throughout Asia, the European part is less extensive but contains a choice collection of History, Travels, Jurisprudence, Ethics, Divinity, Metaphysics, Grammar, Lexicography, Greek and Latin Classics besides numerous works on the modern European Languages particularly in French, Italian and Danish." Captain Ouseley had heard a rumour that the Committee for the Concentration of Public Offices had recently proposed to transfer the books of the College Library to the Asiatic Society's House and in asking whether this plan had the concurrence of Government stated that the Governor-General before leaving for Madras had intended that on vacating the Writers' Buildings a house should be taken for the College and Library. There were several objections urged to the adoption of this plan, not the least being the absence of the requisite rooms in the Asiatic Society's house. It was essential that a suite of apartments sufficient to accommodate the Library should be built either at the expense of Government or of the Asiatic Society. It was feared, however, that in consequence of the failure of its Treasurers Messrs. Macintosh & Co., the Asiatic Society would have no funds to spare for such a purpose. "The Vaults and Lobbies," he writes, "are in truth the only places in that house at present available for such a purpose, and these are incapable of containing above half the books of the College Library but even if this were not the case I feel assured that His Honour in Council would never consign materials constituting so noble a foundation for the formation of a National Library to perish in the vaults and passages of the Asiatic Society's house. Viewing the question in a different light it might be doubted whether that economy be sound which would be valued even in the Honourable Company's dead stock account at 40 or £50,000 to the risk of being lost or injured, for the sake of saving a sum in house rent that could never exceed 300/- or 400/- rupees a month." Captain Ouseley concludes by soliciting Government to engage the premises at present occupied by the College for a further period. He also asked for authority as Librarian to purchase books for the Library to a limited extent. Some arrangement of this kind had become necessary as very few books had been purchased during the preceding six or seven years, and not one since the discontinuance of the College Council who had authority to pass bills on such account to the extent of 100 rupees without reference to Government.

This letter produced the desired effect and Captain Ouseley was directed

to ascertain from the proprietors of the Writers' Buildings the terms on which a renewed lease of the premises occupied by the College separately from the rest of the range could be had by Government. The Agent and Trustee (Mr. C. R. Barwell) replied asking 450/- rupees a month as rent. Government sanctioned this on the condition that the premises were to be taken only from month to month and might be vacated with a month's notice. Mr. Barwell assented to this arrangement. A slight difficulty arose with reference to Nos. 1 and 2 Writers' Buildings the quarters occupied by the Secretary for which Mr. Barwell asked 300/- rupees a month. Captain Ouseley referring the question to Government, the Vice President in Council declined to sanction the payment of 300/- rupees a month for the Secretary's quarters and asked the Secretary to state the grounds upon which he claimed to be provided with a house at the public expense, and also asked Captain Ouseley to suggest some cheaper and more advantageous arrangement for the accommodation of himself and the College supposing his claim for the public quarters to be admitted. Captain Ouseley replied that he had made enquiries regarding other suitable houses for the accommodation of the College but none was available. He based his claim to a Public residence on the grounds of expediency and past usage for 20 years, and asked for 250/- a month in lieu of quarters. Government in their reply reserved his claim for future consideration. On the 20th August having received no reply Captain Ouseley again urged his claims in a temperate but vigorously argued letter, which however, only resulted in a further shelving of his claim.

John Innes Schank a student attached to the College died of dysentery on the night of Saturday September 27th, 1834, aged 20 (South Park Street Burial Ground). In May, 1835, the General Committee of Public Instruction having decided to break up the Book Depository returned to the College of Fort William the books originally received from it. (Lists Proc: XV, pages 291-294) in all 6719 volumes.

On the 23rd September, 1835, Government called for a report upon the present state of the Library of the College with a list of the books distinguishing the European from the Oriental works. A reply was sent on the 30th. October stating that although a catalogue of the European printed books had been printed in 1818 and a supplement of the books since added to the Library had also been prepared, the catalogues of Oriental Manuscripts had never been translated nor had even the names of the books been given in the Roman character. Three lists were now submitted containing the titles of every book in the College Library. No. 1 European printed books; No. 2 Oriental printed books; No. 3 Oriental manuscripts.

The European portion of the Library contained about 5224 volumes.

The Oriental printed books amounted to about 11,718 volumes. The oriental manuscripts amounted to 4,255 of which Captain Onseley writes "Several of these works are highly illuminated and of great rarity." In point of extent the collection of oriental manuscripts in the College Library exceeds every similar collection of which I have any knowledge. The Library of the Escorial is said to contain about 1850 oriental manuscripts. The Leyden Library 1993 and the Bodleian at Oxford 1561.....In the Royal Library at Paris but it is probable that it does not exceed that of the College Library which contains 4255 volumes. There was evidently at this time a proposal to transfer the European works to the Public Library which was then about to be established in Calcutta. Captain Onseley now suggested that the oriental manuscripts should be at the same time transferred to the Asiatic Society "on condition that the Committee of that Society undertake to preserve them in their present good order and to allow literary men whether member of the Asiatic Society or not, to consult them." The Public Library was placed under the care of the following gentlemen as Curators.

Sir Edward Ryan, W. P. Grant, Esq., Charles Cameron, Esq., J. R. Colvin, Esq., H. M. Parker, Esq., J. C. Marshman, Esq., and T. Dickins, Esq. with Mr. J. H. Stocqueler as Honorary Secretary. It was established on the 31st October by a General Meeting held at the Town Hall. "Commodious premises forming the lower apartment of Dr. Strong's House in Esplanade Row have been selected for the present reception of all works that may be purchased or presented." Thus writes Mr. Stocqueler in the course of his letter of November 19th asking Government to give the necessary instructions to the Secretary to the College of Fort William to make over to the Curator the European Printed Books belonging to the Fort William College for the use of the Public Library under certain conditions which the Committee of Curators were prepared to fulfil. These conditions are contained in a letter from Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to Government, dated 4th November, 1835, (Proceedings XV, 397-398). These conditions were in brief (1) The permanent establishment of the Library Society (2) The approbation of the Honourable Court of Directors of the transfer of books (3) The proper care and custody of books.

The form of agreement will be found at page 401 of Proceedings Vol. XV. It is dated 19th January, 1836. The Curators also asked for the loan of the College book cases till their own were ready. This was sanctioned by Government. Mr. Stacey was the first Librarian and was deputed by the Curators to arrange with the Secretary to the College for taking delivery of the books. As the books were only lent and the Curators were liable to be called upon to give them back to Government, attention was necessary to be

observed in taking them over and duplicate lists were to be prepared for signature both by Mr. Stacey and Captain Ouseley. (XV. Proc: 402). The books were transferred on the 27th February, 1836. The list of these books exists among the College Records in manuscripts. It records the transfer of 4990 volumes and is signed by W. H. Stacy, *Librarian*, W. P. Grant, A. R. Jackson and John Bell, *Curators*.

On the 17th February, 1836, Government called for a report of the monthly cost in Establishment and House Rent incurred in the maintenance of the oriental portion of the College Library, and the saving in House Rent which would result from the making over the custody of the Asiatic books forming the remainder of the College Library to the Asiatic Library.

In replying on the 23rd February Captain Ouseley stated that the establishment maintained for the care of the Library of the College cost 282/- monthly. No separate house rent was incurred on account of the oriental portion of the Library, but "if it were transferred to the rooms of the Asiatic Society sufficient accommodation for the College and class books might perhaps be provided without cost to Government in some of the buildings at the disposal of the Committee for concentrating public offices; or if such an arrangement be not feasible, two numbers of the Writers' Buildings would then be ample for the purposes of the College by which one third of the present rent might be saved." On the 24th February the Secretary to Government wrote that the Governor of Bengal had "resolved to make over the oriental books of the late College Library to the Asiatic Society on condition that the Society shall provide fit accommodation for them, and hold them open to the public for reference and perusal as proposed in the letter of the Secretary of that Society. The property in the books is to remain with the Government until the Honourable Court of Directors shall decide upon the final transfer, and until then the Government will allow to the Asiatic Society a monthly sum of 78/- rupees for establishment to take care of the books."

The Secretary to the College on the 1st April, 1836, reported to Government that the oriental manuscripts had been handed over to the Asiatic Society. The lists of these manuscripts are among the College Records and consists of two manuscript volumes one of "Muhammadian Mss." comprising 2681 volumes and the other "Hindoo Mss." consisting of 1131 volumes. The receipt is in both cases signed J. Prinsep, Secretary, Asiatic Society. On the 5th March, 1836, Captain Ouseley reported to the Committee for the Concentration of Public Offices, that "two thirds of the space at present occupied by the College will in future suffice for the purposes of that Institution" and suggested that if the proprietors of Writers' Buildings would "agree to furnish a staircase to the present examination Room on the west

side and to make a few necessary alterations in the centre room, one whole number on the east side might be dispensed with."

On the 8th June, 1836, the Governor of Bengal sanctioned the retention of the premises in the Writers' Buildings occupied by the College upon the reduced rent of 400 Company's rupees per mensem, on a lease of four years as recommended by the Committee for the Concentration of Public Offices.

On Monday, the 19th March, 1838, Mr. C. F. Young, a student attached to the College, died at his own house in Chowringhee of cholera. Aged 26 years. His grave is in the North Park Street Burial Ground.

On the 20th June, 1838, Captain Ouseley was informed that he had been appointed Superintendent of the Mysore Princes on the consolidated salary of 1,813 rupees per mensem. "Captain Ouseley was to be succeeded in the Secretaryship of the College by Captain Marshall, but was to retain his situation of Secretary to the Madrassa and to the Law Examination Committee. His services were also to be retained for the examination of the students at the College of Fort William, and in this way the Government would be able to dispense with the services of the Examiners now kept up separately from the Secretary." On the same date (June 20) Captain Marshall was appointed Secretary and Examiner of the College of Fort William on a consolidated salary of 1,000/- a month and was informed that as Captain Ouseley's services would be available for assistance in conducting examinations, Government did not intend to fill up the additional examinership. This arrangement resulted in a saving of 600/- a month. Government decided to appropriate this amount in providing a seminary of education for the Members and Dependents of the Mysore Princes Family. Captain Ouseley was directed to submit a scheme in accordance with this proposal. Captain Marshall assumed charge of the Office of Secretary on the 4th July, 1838. On the 7th August he received intimation from the adjutant, that his regiment the 35th N. I. was ordered to proceed on active service. On the 25th October Captain Marshall wrote for permission to join his corps, but was refused (XVI. Proceedings 112). In October, 1839, the imposition of an additional duty upon the College Examiners, namely, the examination of candidates for admission to the secondary school in connection with the Medical College rendered assistance necessary. Major Ouseley who was officiating for Captain Marshall during the latter's leave from 1st to 31st October, wrote to Government asking that a learned native might be associated with the Examiners on a salary of 100 rupees a month, and nominating Hafiz Ahmed Kabeer for the post. Government, however, declined to accede to this. Major Ouseley again wrote explaining the necessity for such an appointment. Government, however, replied that there had evidently been some mistake in the interpretation of

the orders and that candidates had been sent up who ought not to have appeared.

On the 14th August 1839, the Honourable Court of Directors sanctioned the transfer of the books and manuscripts, which had taken place in 1836.

On the 5th December, the Secretary Captain G. T. Marshall wrote to Government suggesting the desirability of devising some method for ensuring steady exertion on the part of students with the view of saving them from the severe penalty of dismissal in the event of their failing to qualify within 12 months. He suggested the re-establishment of daily lectures under efficient European superintendence. The reply received was that the Deputy Governor did not feel competent to entertain the question, the abolition having been made under the resolution of the Government of India. An early opportunity would, however, be taken to bring the subject under the consideration of the Honourable the President in Council.

In September, 1839, the Honourable Court of Directors made enquiries as to the nature of the examinations in languages held in India, in the case of writers, their object being to ascertain with accuracy the extent to which the course of instruction in the oriental languages adopted at the East India College was favourable to the attainment of those qualifications which were required from the junior civil servants to fit them for public employment. Captain Marshall replied that upon arrival writers were subjected to an "Initiatory Examination" to test his knowledge of the language selected. The result of this examination was reported. The acquirements of the candidates were as a rule meagre, and they could not translate from English into an oriental language.

In April, 1840, Captain Marshall applied for eight months' leave to Darjeeling on medical certificate. This leave was granted and Captain St. George D. Showers was appointed to act for him as Secretary and Examiner in the Persian language. Captain Showers was informed that he was expected to qualify himself as an Examiner in the Hindee Language within two months. (29th April, 1840.)

Captain Marshall handed over charge May 1st, 1840 (Proc: XVI. 374) Captain Marshall returned from leave and resumed charge on the 1st January, 1841. In February, Captain Marshall proceeded on deputation to Benares and the duties of Secretary were performed by Major Ouseley from March 1st and resumed them on the 1st April. In July, 1841, the Curators of the Calcutta Public Library wrote to the Secretary to the College asking for the temporary use of two rooms which were understood to be unoccupied as Dr. Strong's house was about to undergo repair, and the Metcalfe Hall a part

of which was to be appropriated for the Public Library was not yet completed. The accomodation asked for was granted by the Visitor.

At the end of this year (1841) the Persian translation of the Qamus called Muntabal Arab was completed after many vicissitudes by Munshi Abdul Rahim, son of Abdul Karim and the Government grant of 8,000/- was completed.

In May, 1842, three students of the College incurred the grave displeasure of the Deputy-Governor on account of their names having appeared in the Public press as subscribers to a steeplechase. They were directed "to withdraw their names at once from the notice referred to and cease to expose themselves in so discreditable a manner to animadversion." Apparently as a corollary to this we find the Deputy Governor of Bengal expressing himself as "deeply impressed with the necessity of a more strict enforcement of the rules and regulations prescribed for the College of Fort William and of subjection of the conduct of the students generally to close supervision and control." In accordance with this he ordered that the periodical reports to Government should embody remarks upon the general conduct and ability of the students, who were in future to undergo a monthly examination after which they were to be assembled at the College to have their errors pointed out to them by the Examiners "who will avail themselves of the opportunity of making such remarks for the benefit of the students as their conduct collectively or individually may appear to call for." No student was to be allowed to reside at a greater distance from the College Buildings than the Secretary might think advisable. The Secretary was enjoined to strictly enforce Rule XXI of the Rules in force (enacted 23rd June, 1841) with reference to the removal of idle students. If a student exceeded the twelve months allowed for passing in two languages, the Secretary was to report whether this failure was the result of incapacity or idleness. After fifteen months, if still unqualified, the student was to cease drawing any allowance and directed to return to England as unfit for the civil service.

Students were to be entitled to promotion according to the date of their leaving College due consideration being given to established claims arising out of approved official service.

An annual report was to be printed and published exhibiting the proficiency and general conduct of every student together with the orders of Government thereon.

These directions were to be printed together with the rules and regulations, dated the 23rd June, 1841, to be delivered to every student on his admission, but the bound volume of the Statutes of the College of Fort William in the Imperial Library, which originally belonged to the College of Fort

William does not contain the directions. It ends with the Rules and Regulations of 1841 nor can any printed copy be found among the records of the College.

On the 2nd July, 1842, 44 candidates for admission to the secondary or military class of the Medical College were examined in Hindustani by Major Ouseley and Captain Marshall. Again in December, 1842, 58 were examined. On March 20th, 1843, 41 and on August, 1843, 43-52.

On the 20th July, 1842, Rule 10 of the Regulations of 1841 making Persian compulsory was so far modified as to allow students to take Urdu and Bengalee in place of Persian and Bengalee.

On the 25th January, 1843, the first Report on the general conduct and ability of the students of the College of Fort William was prepared and signed by the Secretary, 26 names occur (XVII Proc: page 286). The next is issued on the 7th February, then on the 4th March, 7th April.

On the 20th June, 1843, Lieutenant Stephen of the 8th Native Infantry A. D. C. to the Deputy Governor of Bengal was awarded a Degree of Honour in Persian.

XI. 1844. In this year a printed form was issued from the Adjutant General's Office prescribing the test to be observed in the examination of officers by District Committees, and directing that for the sake of uniformity the same test should be applied by the examiners of the College of Fort William. Major Ouseley and Captain Marshall (XVII. Proc. pages 620-621) wrote advertising to this form and pointing out that it departed from and in some places increased the difficulty of the test prescribed under the General Orders of the Commander-in-Chief dated 27th. May 1823 which fixed the test for the examination of Interpreters. This they considered a very efficient test, but asked that if His Lordship in Council preferred to adopt the test laid down in the printed form due intimation should be given to the army, in order that candidates might be duly prepared. (10th February, 1844). It was decided to adhere to the provisions of G. O. C. C. of 27th May 1823, and the District Committees were to be instructed accordingly.

On the 7th March, 1844 Major Ouseley resigned his office as Acting Examiner to the College, being about to proceed to Europe on furlough and was permitted to take with him a copy of certain works. In accepting Major Ouseley's resignation the Deputy Governor expressed to Major Ouseley the thanks of Government for the good services he had rendered in the several situations held by him.

By a General Order of the Governor-General of India in Council dated 1st March 1844 it was laid down that all Subaltern Officers and Assistant Surgeons

of the Indian Army should possess an acquaintance with the language of the country to such an extent as should qualify them for free and unreserved personal communication with the native soldiery. H. E. the Commander-in-Chief called upon the Secretary to the College to report what examination he would consider sufficient to ensure this order being complied with. It was considered by His Excellency that examination in Hindustani which was then required to qualify an officer for Staff employ would be too strict a test.

Captain Marshall in his reply (XVII. Proc. 658 &c.) took the view that only a colloquial examination was contemplated and stated that this might be carried out in two-ways—by actual conversation carried on by the examiners with the candidates in Hindustani and by a written paper of English sentences prepared by the Examiners and read sentence by sentence to each candidate in order that he might translate each sentence off-hand into Hindustani *viva voce*. The former plan seemed to Captain Marshall too indefinite and variable, too likely also to be influenced by the peculiar notions and acquirements of different examiners. He therefore preferred the latter method which had been long employed with success in the College for the colloquial portion of the Interpreters' Examination. Captain Marshall also suggested the desirability of appointing a Medical Officer as Member of a Board for the Examination of Assistant Surgeons. The paper of sentences was to be read out one by one, and the candidate's translation written down by another Member of the Board and a note made of his ability at the conclusion of each candidate's performance of this task. Captain Marshall considered that if a candidate could fulfil these requirements his ability to understand the spoken language might be inferred on the general principle that to understand a language is easier than to speak it. He also considered that detailed instructions should be sent to each Committee as to the method to be observed in conducting the examination in order to secure uniformity of test, lest an officer might be reported as unqualified in one district and yet be of superior attainments to one reported unqualified in another.

In May 1844 Mr. Heatly, Secretary to the Lyceum, applied for accommodation in the lower rooms of the College. His application was granted. In June 1844 four of the munshis were discharged to pension, and the Deputy Governor of Bengal ordered that their places were not to be filled. It was thought that the appointment of a fluctuating establishment of munshis to meet varying requirements would stimulate this class of teachers to exertion and be productive of greater efficiency. On the 16th, August 1844 Lieutenant Colonel S. D. Riley assumed his appointment as an Examiner of the College. Since March 4th the date of the resignation of Major Ouseley Captain Marshall had been sole examiner in addition to performing the duties of Secretary.

On the 26th October 1844 a resolution by the Government of India declared that the allowances of students on first joining the College should for the future be 250/- a month. Upon passing in one language he was to receive 300/- a month. If permitted to remain in the College to study for Honours or to acquire additional languages, a student received the full salary granted to qualified assistants on leaving College *viz.*, 400 a month. The period for qualifying in two languages was to be limited to 15 months at Fort William and Bombay and 18 months at Fort St. George, but the local Governments were, however, empowered to grant extension up to six months more after which a student failing to qualify was to be finally removed from the service and a passage found for him on application at the public expense.

In June 1845 an uniform test for the examination of officers by the Military Interpreter's standard was laid down by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief and was adopted by the College upon the recommendation of the Secretary in the following August. On the 4th September 1845 Dr. Sprenger, Secretary to the Vernacular Society at Delhi sent some Urdu books for inspection, a few were taken for the use of the College.

On the 25th October, 1845, a plan for the establishment of a University in Calcutta was forwarded to the College by Dr. F. J. Mouat, Secretary to the Council of Education, though it was not till January, 1857 that the University was actually established.

On the 6th March 1846 Dr. F. J. Mouat presented to the College a copy of an Atlas of Anatomical Plates with descriptive letter press in Hindustani.

In 1846 a long correspondence took place between the Secretary to the College and Government on the subject of New Rules for the instruction of the students. There were two alternative schemes, one for appointing Native Professors and the other for reverting to the original system of European Professors. The question seems to have been shelved after reference to the Court of Directors who probably booked it. For some years past the cost of the College had been kept well under 50,000. The proposal for re-appointing European Professors on the old footing would have been attended with so much expense that it is not likely to have met with the approval of the Honourable Court of Directors.

On the 23rd September 1846 Mr. R. Temple was admitted as a student. In March 1847 Captain Marshall was promoted to the rank of Major and in consequence became disqualified to hold the office of Secretary to the College under the provisions of the General Orders of the Governor-General, dated 23rd May, 1823. He accordingly wrote to Government asking if it was their intention to retain his services, and if so soliciting an increase of salary to guard him against loss. Eventually Major Marshall was allowed a con-

solidated salary of 1,500 a month and on these terms consented to continue in his appointment pending the decision of the Honourable Court of Directors on a reference which had been made to them on the point, as it was recognised that there was no one fitted to succeed Major Marshall (XIX. Proc. A-F). On the 21st June 1847 Mr. James Ballantyne, Secretary to the Local Committee of Public Instruction at Benares, informed the Secretary of the College that it was proposed to publish a new edition of the first two books of Euclid in the Sanskrit language and on the symbolical plan, under the editorship of Pundit Bapa Deo. In the first book 35 additional demonstrations of Euclid's propositions were to be given and in the second book 13. The work was to be lithographed at Bombay in the best style. If this volume was well supported the remaining books were to be published successively.

On the 30th. February 1847 the Honourable Court of Directors wrote complaining that orders as to the transmission to them of copies of all works published either at Serampore or in Calcutta, had been imperfectly carried out and desiring more regular attention to their directions in future.

At pages 146-148 Proceedings XIX. occurs a list of works sent home in response to this letter.

In July 1847 Mr. James Corceeran, (?) Urdu Translator to the Sudder Court submitted his Urdu History of the Chinese Empire, Government subscribed for 100 copies. It was to be in two volumes at 8 rupees a volume.

Major Marshall obtained leave of absence for one month on medical certificate from 16th August 1847 to proceed to the Sandheads. Dr. E. Roer acting for him during his absence.

In October 1847 Government sanctioned a subscription for 100 copies of an Urdu translation of the Akhlaqi Jalali to be called the Jami-ul-Akhlaq by Maulvi Ghulam Haidar.

On the 8th October 1847 Major Marshall applied for leave for a year on medical certificate to visit Darjeeling. The leave was granted on the 13th October and Lieutenant Colonel Riley was appointed to act for him and in November Dr. Roer was appointed Examiner in Bengali on a salary of 200 a month.

In July 1848 complaints having been made by certain students that the munshis and pundits who taught in the College were not efficient, sanction was given by Government to their engaging their own munshis and pundits who would receive the authorised allowance on production of certificates signed by the students they had attended. The fixed establishment of 3 munshis and 4 pundits attached to the College was to be maintained. Lieutenant-Colonel Riley the Officiating Secretary wrote to Government recommending that

these munshis and pundits should have their connection with the College severed as in the first place difficulties might arise as to the allotment of them to students under the new system and in the second it was his opinion that the College would work better without them. In July, 1848, also rules were drawn up to regulate the behaviour of students at examinations in consequence of a report to Government by the Officiating Secretary (Lieutenant-Colonel Riley) of serious irregularities and breaches of discipline. It seems that from the earliest institution of the College one and the same set of examination papers had been in use, consequently it was not to be wondered at that there were cases of fraud and that certain munshis who were in possession of these sets of exercises were preferred to others who were not so privileged. It was ordered that a completely new set of examination papers was to be prepared. Lieutenant Colonel Riley endeavoured to delay the preparation of these papers till the return of Major Marshall but Government refused to sanction this delay.

Major Marshall resumed the office of Secretary to the College early in January 1849.

In May, the purchase from Messrs. Thacker & Co. of a "Parlour Printing Press" at the cost of 160 was authorised for the purpose of enabling the Secretary to compose and strike off his own hand new exercises (English to be translated into the Native Languages) for every monthly examination.

On the 21st January 1850 the Secretary, Major Marshall, suggested to Government the desirability of holding examinations for the admission of munshis and pundits annually in the months of January and February. These examinations were to be the test of qualification to teach students the standard was to be the same as the Degree of Honour for students with the additional requirement of a fair knowledge of English. No certificated munshi was to be allowed to draw pay for more than three students at a time, and the allowance for each student was to be raised to 50/-. It appeared that the munshis and pundits on the fixed establishment of the College were not resorted to by the students and that 15 outside munshis and pundits had been employed by them since the new rules were introduced allowing students to make their own arrangements for tuition (XX. Proc. 30). In consequence of this the Secretary was directed to submit a report upon the fixed establishment of munshis and their qualifications for their duties. As this order was couched in an unusual form and written by Mr. Under-Secretary Seton Karr, Major Marshall took umbrage at it and referred it to the Government who directed a letter to be substituted for the obnoxious memorandum (XX. Proc. 36). In the result the fixed establishment of munshis and pundits was ordered to be discharged to pension or gratuity as the case might be.

On March 5th, Lieutenant Keightly, 44th, Regiment Native Infantry, obtained a Degree of Honour in Persian.

XX. Proceedings pages 85-88 contains a list of oriental works for transmission to England to the Honourable Court of Directors.

In this year the salary of 1,500 which had been drawn by Major Marshall as Secretary and Examiner to the College from the date of his promotion to a Majority was reduced by order of the Honourable Court of Directors to the sum of 1,250. These orders were contained in a Despatch in the Financial Department No. 20 of 1849 para. 3. Although "the extensive acquirements of Major Marshall and his long services, combined with the circumstance that there is no other officer under the rank of Major qualified to succeed him should he quit the College" had been made the grounds of their recommendation by the Government of India, the Honourable Court were not able to acquiesce in their decision to confirm the grant of 1,500 a month; the object not being to attach such a salary to the office of Secretary to the College as should retain the services of a particular individual howsoever valuable his services might be but to award a fair and equitable remuneration for the duties to be discharged. Major Marshall's allowances were to be reduced to 1,250/- from the the date of the receipt of the despatch in question.

Major Marshall accordingly memorialised the Honourable Court of Directors XX. Proc. 95—pointing out the hardship inflicted upon by this order. He had been induced to remain in the appointment by a decision of the Government of India sanctioning a consolidated allowance of 1,500/- a month, which arrangement he understood was final and had foregone "favourable prospects in the military line." Failing confirmation of the order granting him 1,500/- a month Major Marshall submitted that he was entitled to be paid at the rate of 1,250/- a month from the date of his first appointment and requested that the difference might now be made good to him. The Court, however, refused to grant either request (XX. Proc. 103).

XX. Proc. pages 183, 184, List of oriental works transmitted to Honourable Court of Directors. XX. Proc. pages 262-266 also pages 481-483 transmitted to Honourable Court of Directors.

On the 3rd December, 1850 the name of A. Sprenger appears with that of Major Marshall as Examiner for the first time.

On the 16th April, 1851 A. Sprenger Examiner of the College wrote to Major Marshall expressing his intention of producing new editions of some of the text books. He had commenced with the Gulistan of which he submitted a specimen. Government authorised a subscription for 100 copies at 5/8 a copy. (XX. Proc. 439).

On the 9th April, the Honourable Court of Directors sanctioned the extension to the Bengal Army of the reward of 1,000/-rupees for obtaining high proficiency in the native languages, recognising the great importance to the public service of a thorough acquaintance with the native languages among officers of the Military Service. In July of this year the Government of India directed the Secretary to the College of Fort William to submit a plan for conducting the periodical examination of military officers and detailed instructions for the guidance of Examination Committee in conducting the examination of Interpreters. In response to this a scheme was submitted by which the desired uniformity of test would be attained. This scheme has practically been maintained with minor modifications up to the present time. Ensign W. N. Lees 42nd. Regiment Native Light Infantry obtained a Degree of Honour in Persian on the 21st. October 1851 and on the 22nd November 1851 he obtained a certificate of High Proficiency in Urdu, and on the 20th. April 1852 a Degree of Honour in Urdu.

On the 13th May 1852 Major Marshall applied to Government for an increase to his salary on the ground that his duties had been greatly increased by his being constituted an ex-officio member of the Committee for examining Direct Cadets (G. O. 1st September, 1851) also by the officer of the College being required to conduct the half-yearly examination at all the military stations throughout the Bengal Presidency (G. O. 7th July, 1851). Also by the institution of money prizes for military officers to be awarded by the College Examiners to perform by far the largest portion of the duties formerly performed half-yearly by Station Examination Committees.

Major Marshall asked for an increase from 1,250/- to 1,500/- from date of this last quoted order. He sought this as a personal allowance in consideration of his long services and pointed out that it could not be for long as his promotion to Lieutenant Colonel would in all probability take place before the expiry of a year. To this Government replied that Major Marshall's application had been referred for the consideration and orders of the Honourable Court of Directors, who eventually refused to entertain it. (Proc. XXI. 824).

Major Marshall upon his promotion to a Lieutenant Colonelcy vacated the office of Secretary and was succeeded in it by Ensign W. N. Lees on 5th. March, 1853. I cannot find any letter of appointment. On the 17th March Ensign Lees writes to Government as follows:—

“Having been appointed simply Secretary to the College I have the honour to request you will inform me if it is the wish of the Most Noble the Visitor that I should take any part in the examination of the students. My predecessor having been both Secretary and Examiner, I seek this information

that my position as Secretary may be more clearly defined by competent authority."

To this Mr. Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, replied on the 19th March.

"I am directed by the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal to state that it is a part of the duty of the Secretary to the College to attend and preside at all examinations both of civil and military officers and to take such part in them as he may think expedient."

This separation of the office of Secretary and Examiner was doubtless to retain the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall in the latter capacity for a time.

In April 1853, Mr. K. M. Banerjea was appointed Examiner in Sanskrit and Bengalee in succession to Lieutenant Colonel Marshall.

Lieutenant Colonel Marshall 12th Regiment Native Infantry was declared on the 19th April, 1853 to have qualified in Urdu and Hindi for the money prize granted to Military officers for proficiency in the native languages by the terms of G. G. O., dated 9th March, 1852. The Government of Bengal, however, referred the question of the grant to the Government of India quoting the case of Brevet Major F.A. Miles of the Artillery who claimed the reward though he was about to retire from the service. Government, however, decided that Colonel Marshall was to receive the reward to which he was entitled under the strict letters of the regulations (XX. Proc. 1060). On a reference from Government on the subject the Secretary to the College of Fort William advised that orders should be framed restricting the grant of the money reward to officers of certain periods of service requiring from all claimants for the reward a declaration on honour that they had no present intention of retiring from the service. In reply Government decided that every officer had a right to be examined but the question of granting or withholding the reward in any particular case would be decided by Government. On the 3rd. October 1853 Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall wrote from Mooltan to the Secretary asking him to submit to Government his application to be "allowed a favour which has usually been extended to persons who have served as officers of the College, on the occasion of their finally leaving the institution, namely a grant of a certain number of oriental books from the Library." The list of books 77 in number is appended. This application was granted (XX. Proc. 1160).

On the 29th October 1853 the Secretary to the College forwarded to Government of India in the Military Department two draft forms of Report upon the half-yearly Military Examination recommending their adoption in room of those hitherto in use. These new forms were deemed necessary to check irregularities on the part of Station Committees. This proposal was sanctioned and

the change notified in G. G. O. No. 947 of 18th November 1853. On December 28th 1853 the Reverend James Long Secretary to the Vernacular Literature Committee wrote asking for the grant of a copy of each of the Bengalee Books from the Library of the College of Fort William. A list of these (55 in number) occurs at pages 1201, 1202 Proc. XXI. The Vernacular Literature Committee's Library would be deposited in the Public Library. This was sanctioned by the Government of Bengal.

(List at pages 1204, 1205 Proc. XXI.)

For some reason which does not appear from the College Records it was decided to abolish the College and on the 24th. January 1854 orders to that effect by the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal were issued.

[ *To be continued.* ]

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# Early Days of Postal Administration in India—I.

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT.

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CUSTOMS AND POST OFFICE COMMITTEE.

*Calcutta, the 13th February, 1836.*

To—The Secretary to the Government of India,

General Department.

SIR,—I have the honour under instructions from the Committee for the revision of the Customs and Post Office Departments of India, to forward for submission to his honour the Governor-General-in-Council, the accompanying report No. II bearing date this day on the existing systems of the Post Office Department throughout India, the same being their first report in that branch of enquiry.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

(Sd.) T. J. TAYLOR,

Secretary, Customs and Post Office Committee.

## REPORT II.

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, General Department.

CUSTOMS AND POST OFFICE COMMITTEE,

*Calcutta, the 13th February, 1836.*

SIR,—In obedience to the instructions conveyed in the letters from Government at the several dates specified in the margin\* and to the letter from Committee to Mr. Secretary Prinsep of the 5th December last, we have now the honour to submit for consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council the accompanying report on the several existing systems of the Post Office Department throughout India.

2. A post for the conveyance of mails exists throughout the British Territories in Hindustan and on such routes through the several Native States in amity with us as Government have chosen to direct. The expenses of establishment maintained for this purpose are defrayed from the public treasury. The rates of postage are regulated by Government and the collections thereon realized are brought to account as part and parcel of the revenue.

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\* 13 March, 1 April, 25 November, 1835.

3. The only foreign European Settlement which possesses its own post office is Goa, the communications in which Province, as also with our nearest Post Office are conducted at the cost of the Portuguese State, at the other Foreign Settlements Pondicherry, Damaun, Carical, Tranquebar and Chander-nagar the Post Office Department is conducted by our Government which appoints its own servants and realizes the postage on letters received or despatched while for the petty settlements of Yanam in the Northern Circars and Mahe on the Malabar Coast letters are received or delivered at our nearest Post Offices, Ingeram and Tellicherry respectively.

4. Besides the Dak established by Government there are through some portions of the British Territories Native Daks maintained by foreign native princes or private individuals by which native letters are conveyed at much lighter postage than is levied by the Post Office Department. But the Committee are not yet in possession of very accurate information as to what extent they are employed or in what districts they exist. In the Madras Presidency we are not aware that any such Daks exist. In Bombay they formerly existed to some extent but were put down and prohibited by a special enactment Regulation XI of 1830. In the Northern Provinces of India they are known to exist to some extent more especially in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Agra. There are native Daks, moreover in some of the great Native States, and by that of the Hyderabad State our mails to and from certain stations of His Highness's Army, as also for 200 miles of the route between Hyderabad and Aurrungabad are conveyed but whether the receipts on account of letters so carried are paid into the British treasury does not very clearly appear from the conflicting accounts at present before us. The Dak moreover from Deesa to Balnair a distance of 130 miles is conveyed by mounted horsemen of the Guicowar contingent.

5. With these exceptions, the whole of the charges incurred on account of the Post Office Departments throughout India are paid by the British Government but it would appear that those charges have not been invariably entered under their proper heads in the public accounts or defrayed from the Post Office collections.

6. The Post Office throughout India has not hitherto been viewed as one united department nor has any attempt been made to conduct it on uniform principles. Each Presidency has had its own Post Master General. Each has framed its own internal arrangements, has adopted its own rates of postage and instituted its own public regulations without connection or reference to those of its neighbour which it appears to have viewed as a foreign state. Each has acted as though general interests were secondary to individual inter-

ests and as though the gain of a sum with one hand which was lost with the other, was yet a real gain to the State.

7. The result has been three separate co-existing systems in which hardly any two items assimilate from the rate of travelling or the scale of postage to the mode of collecting it or the control of the accounts.

8. It has accordingly been necessary to institute minute enquiries in each Presidency into every branch of the department alike in its external regulations as respects the public as in those particulars more immediately affecting Government, the revenue realized from this source and the charges therefrom defrayed to contract each with the other with great care to ascertain what additions are required in order to render it perfectly efficient and what reductions may be effected in existing establishments without impairing their real efficiency. In our present report we propose to confine ourselves to a detailed description of the department, as it now exists in three Presidencies respectively and we have accordingly the honour to submit the following analysis of the several systems for the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council.

9. The mode in which we propose to apply a remedy for existing evils, to set aside existing anomalies and reconcile all discrepancies by establishing one general regulation for the Post Offices throughout India, and a code of laws adapted for the control of the department, the protection of the revenue and recognition and punishment of offences will form the subject of a second report, when we are prepared to lay before Government the financial results of the last five years and a prospective estimate of results that may be expected from the system we propose to recommend, the modes in which the accounts in the three Presidencies are severally kept, controlled, audited and finally passed, the check which may now exist against misappropriation of postage and other frauds or the absence of any such check will also form part of our second report, as we have not yet received replies from the several Postmasters-General and other local authorities from whom we have requested full information on the subject.

10. The Post Office Department of India is superintended by three Postmasters-General with such number of Deputy Postmasters subordinate to each, as circumstances have rendered necessary. Each Postmaster General has the entire and exclusive direction of the Department within his own range, subject to the control of Government to which he reports direct. In Bengal the Postmaster-General was formerly subordinate to Revenue Board but he is now an independent officer in like manner as at the other two Presidencies.

11. The General Post Office at Calcutta extends its control over both the Bengal and Agra Presidencies with the whole of the Native States of Central

India, and those of Nagpur and Hyderabad as also the British Settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapur in the Straits. It unites with the Department of the other Presidencies at seven different points—First with that of Madras at Preaghy a few miles from Ganjam whence its mails are conveyed by the Madras Department as far as Moonegallah 80 miles west of Masulipatam and thence are resumed by the Bengal Post Office to Hyderabad. The southern mail from Hyderabad is conveyed by the Bengal Department to Kurnool on the Toombudra river whence it is carried south by that of Madras. The western mails from Hyderabad to Poona as far as Sholapur, the great western mails from Calcutta to Bombay as far as Aurangabad, the mails from Upper India to Bombay as far as Sindwah 90 miles south of Indore and to the westward of Neemuch as far as Pahlampur are all conveyed by the Bengal Post Office at which four places they respectively unite with that of the Bombay Department.

12. The Madras Department unites with that of Bombay at three several points, at Hoospett and Hyrryhur on the Toombudra River *en route* from Madras to Darwar and at Darwar itself *en route* from Honore on the Malabar Coast. The mail from India to Ceylon is conveyed to and from that island at the expense of the Madras Government from Point Calimere to Point Pedro in Ceylon, during nine months of the year; but during the monsoon months from Tuticorin to some place on that island to the southward of the Pombum Pass.

13. The control of the department throughout Madras and Bombay extends over the whole of those several Presidencies and the Native States embraced within their respective limits.

14. The Postmaster General at each Presidency is a covenanted civil servant. In Bengal and Bombay he has a fixed salary. In Madras he has a fixed but smaller salary to which is added a commission on receipts.

15. The Deputy Postmasters are of two classes *ex-officio* and salaried. In Bengal the total of both classes is 111. In Madras 24. In Bombay 18. Shewing a grand total of 153 Deputy Postmasters.

The proportion of salaried to *ex-officio* Postmasters in the three Presidencies is shown in the following table:—

Presidency.	<i>Ex-officio.</i>	Salaried.	Total.
Bengal	... 84	27*	111
Madras	... 23	1	24
Bombay	... 15	3†	18
Grand total	... 122	31	153

\* Including a Deputy Post Master, Presidency Office.

† Including an Assistant Post Master, Presidency Office.

16. The *ex-officio* Deputy Postmasters throughout India are Residents, Political Agents, Collectors and Magistrates or their several assistants as the case may be and in some few instances in Madras and Bombay are the Military local staff of stations.

17. The salaried Deputy Postmasters are usually military or medical officers who hold these appointments conjointly with other staff situations but in some few instances they are gentlemen not in the Company's Service. Their salaries are not uniform but vary from Rupees 50 to Rupees 700 per month. Their salaries are severally shown in detail in the annexed statement A but we here subjoin a summary of the same for the three Presidencies respectively :

Presidency.		Number of salaried Deputy Postmasters.	Total annual Cost of the same.
Bengal	...	27*	57,700
Madras	...	1	1,050
Bombay	...	3†	7,000
Grand total		31	66,550

18. In the General Post Office, Bengal, there is a Deputy Postmaster, besides the Postmaster General. In the Madras General Post Office there is no such officer. In the Bombay General Post Office there is an Assistant Postmaster.

19. In Bengal there are 110 Mofussil Post Offices besides which are a great many other stations where letters are both received for despatch and distributed on receipt but of which no return has hitherto been kept in the General Post Office. The Committee has called for a return of the same with their respective receipts and disbursements for one month.

20. In Madras there are 117 Mofussil Post Offices or stations at which Post Office writers are stationed for receipt and delivery of letters.

21. In Bombay there are 49 such offices.

22. The Mofussil offices are by no means regulated in any uniform manner throughout India, either in respect to number of servants or their respective salaries except in the Madras Presidency, where since 1834 these offices have been divided into a certain number of classes to each of which a certain number of servants with a regulated rate of pay and contingent allowance for stationery, etc., are apportioned. The servants are of two descriptions only, writers or Gomastahs and peons, etc. The scale agreeably to which they are paid is shown in the appended statement B. In Bombay although no such

\*Including a Deputy Postmaster, Presidency Office.

†Including an Assistant Postmaster, Presidency Office.

uniform system has been adopted, the establishments are still on a very moderate scale, but we learn that in that Presidency in some instances all the servants employed in the department are not charged to the post office head because the duty of the Post Office has in such cases been thrown upon the establishments of the *ex-officio* Deputy Postmasters, whether Collectors or Residents without any additional servants, and we have accordingly applied for detailed information on this subject. In Bengal the Mofussil offices more especially those of the great military cantonments and Political Residencies are far larger and more expensive than the corresponding establishments in the other Presidencies. No uniformity has been deemed necessary, either in respect to the number or class or salary of the servants employed and if the amount of collection can be considered as in any way affording an estimate of the relative proportion of labour to be performed, very great discrepancies exist in the strength of establishments and cost of contingencies at stations of apparently similar importance. Servants of various descriptions unknown in the other Presidencies appear in the Returns laid before the Committee, Moonshees, Mutsuddees, Chuttee-Reshas, Cash-keepers, Naibs, Sircars, Poddars, Dufturees, Persian Assistants, Hindu Nomeeses, Lallahs, Managers, Assaramees Packet-markers, Jemadars, Superintendents, Takudars, Shroffs, etc. We certainly know no benefit that can result from servants employed on similar duties being designated in the same department by dissimilar denominations. Such a system inevitably tends towards confusion.

23. We learn that in some mofussil offices in Bengal a double registry of letters is kept one in English and another in Persian but we are not yet aware to what extent this practice prevails. It has of late years been abolished in the General Post Office and we hope we may be enabled hereafter to recommend its entire abolition throughout India.

24. The extent of control exercised by Deputy Postmasters is not regulated by any uniform system throughout India. It is not even uniform in any one Presidency. In some the control of the Deputy Postmaster is limited to a single station. In others it extends over a whole Province with many out post offices. In some places it includes an entire route from one sudder station to another. In others more particularly when held *ex-officio* it terminates with the limits to which the Deputy Postmaster's Revenue or Magisterial or Political powers extend. This latter arrangement is perhaps irremediable, so long as the *ex-officio* system of conducting Post Office details is retained generally on the great routes of India. The mode and the extent of changes we shall propose in this branch of the department will form part of our next report. In the meantime we will only observe that although the supervision of Post Offices at minor stations, on the cross routes and unfrequent-

ed districts where the duties are necessarily limited by such *ex-officio* Deputy Postmasters may be unobjectionable we can conceive no plan more prejudicial to the Government interest or more productive of inconvenience to all parties than the retention of that system on the several Grand Trunk routes as well as at large military stations where the duties so minute yet so necessary are sufficient to occupy daily a fair proportion of the time of any individual.

25. In explanation of this portion of the subject we can not do better than refer to a passage from the Bengal Postmaster's General's Report to the Committee under date 20th June, 1835, paragraphs 7 to 12 *vide* Appendix C.

26. We may also subjoin the following brief passage from the Bombay Acting Postmaster-General's Report to the Committee, dated 9th October, 1835, paragraph 11. "That considerable delay frequently takes place at stations through which Daks pass. I have little doubt Postmasters receive no remuneration for the duties they are called to perform and are frequently absent, as in the case with collectors, following their own more important duties. A Purvoo, *i.e.*, a writer, is left in charge who may or may not be anxious to avoid delay.

27. We now proceed to contrast such portions of the regulations at the three Presidencies as more especially respect the public in regard to the receipt and delivery of letters at the Presidency and Mofussil offices respectively together with the modes and rates of conveying the several mails throughout the country and the several scales of inland and sea postage at the three Presidencies on letters, newspapers and parcels. We shall next report how the Banghy Dak is conducted throughout India accompanied by a contrasted statement of the rates of Banghy Postage at the three Presidencies. We shall thence proceed to explain the extent of the Franking privileges in this country and lastly detail the systems under which Dak bearers are posted for travellers at each Presidency.

28. In Bengal letters are not received unless accompanied by a book or slip of paper on which is written the direction of the letter. On this document the Post Office writer notes the weight and postage levied and then adding his initials with a stamp, returns the same to the sender in attestation of its safer receipts.

29. In Madras letters are received whether accompanied by such document or otherwise. If a book or written direction be sent it is stamped and signed in like manner as in Bengal. If such documents be not sent a receipt merely bearing the place of despatch, the date and amount of postage in the following brief form,

"Single to Calcutta"  
"1 Rupee."

The  
Usual Stamp.

is delivered to the sender.

30. In Bengal letters are not received unless accompanied by a memorandum containing the name or alleged name of the sender for registry with the direction of the letter.

31. In Madras, a similar practice formerly existed and as respects Native letters it was specially enjoined by Regulation dated March 9th, 1833, that they should not be received without the name and residence of the writer being superscribed on the same. This practice was considered by the Madras Committee of 1833-34 to be "objectionable" and abolished.

32. As respects the Bombay Presidency we are not yet informed on either of the two last points.

33. Letters once received at any Post Office are not returned except on official application. The postage is however in such case not returned.

34. The Post Office Department does not knowingly receive for transmission articles of value, and although every due care and precaution is taken to secure the safe conveyance of all packets whether by Dak or Banghy, it is not responsible for any inquiry or loss occasioned by accident or fraud.

35. Packets containing Company's paper when sent by post may be entered in a register kept for that purpose at each General Post Office in order that should the same be lost, payment may be stopped and fresh paper delivered to the parties.

36. In Bengal, all such packets may be received daily, Sundays excepted from 10 till 3—at Madras from 11 till 2—at Bombay from 10 till 5.

37. Individuals are not compelled to receive a letter to their address, but if they open the same they are bound to pay the postage marked on it, whatever it may be, at the period of delivery. If there be a mistake, it is rectified by a reference to the Postmaster General or his Deputy.

38. If payment be refused, all future letters to the address of the party are withheld until the demand is liquidated.

39. When too many packets are received for despatch at once, a certain number of public despatches, books or newspapers are kept back for the following day. Private letters however are in no instance detained. In Bombay, moreover, letters from the Government, Secretariat, or Adjutant or Quarter-Master General are never kept back.

40. The receipt and delivery of letters at outstations throughout India are not regulated by any uniform system, nor are the packets made up for despatch from such stations agreeably to any fixed rule.

41. In Bengal, there is no specific rule for opening or closing mofussil offices, but an understanding exists that they are open for receipt at 10 A.M. Deliveries of letters are regulated by local authorities. It is the duty of Deputy Postmasters to have their packets closed in time for the arrival of the

mail to carry them on, the hour of which is or ought to be well-known to all the Society.

42. In Madras the hour at which a mofussil office opens as well as that for the delivery of letters is regulated by the local authorities, usually with reference to the hours at which the several mails arrive. But in order to prevent delay to the Dawks as well as to prevent the post-office writers being subjected to unnecessary labour letters are not received at any mofussil office, except on "emergent service" to be certified to the Postmaster General, after 5 P.M. at which hour the packets are closed and made up for all mails likely to pass during the night.

43. In Bombay, the receipt and delivery of letters appear in like manner to be regulated by local authorities and with respect to the despatch of the packets from mofussil stations except Poonah where there is a fixed hour 5 P.M. The Postmaster-General states "his belief that it is the practice to have the packet in readiness to be closed when the Dawk arrives, which is to carry it on" but he adds, he has no doubt that considerable delay very frequently occurs in consequence of *ex-officio* Deputy Postmasters having other matters of more importance to attend to and the details of the office being thus left to the care of a writer, who may or may not be active.

44. At Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, letters are received at certain out-offices for despatch at a regulated hour to the General Post Office. In Calcutta there are four of these offices, in Madras two, in Bombay one; in Calcutta and Bombay no extra charge is made beyond the regular postage. At Madras half-an-anna extra is levied on each letter from the out-office at Bombay (Bycullah) letters are also delivered at the other Presidencies the delivery of letters is restricted to the General Post Office only.

45. In Madras, it is the duty of commandants and staff of stations to see that all letters to military persons are duly delivered. It is also the duty of commandants of corps to send a Drummer and Sepoy daily to the Post Office for the letters for the men of his corps, and to cause them to be duly distributed. This system saves the department much vexatious trouble. It does not appear to be enjoined at the other Presidencies.

46. The hours between which letters and papers and Banghy Parcels, are respectively received at the Post Office differs in each Presidency, as explained below.

Hours for receipt of Letters at the General Post Office of the three Presidencies respectively :

Place.	Letters.	Newspapers.	Bunghy Parcels except on Sunday.
Bengal ...	From 10 to 6½	10 to 5½	10 to 5½ (1)
Madras ...	11 to 6	11 to 3	11 to 2 (2)
Bombay ...	10 to 5	10 to 5	—

(1) But only till 3 P.M. on day of despatch. (2) But only till 12 P.M. on day of despatch.

47. In Bengal and Madras, however, letters are received after the above hours till 6½ on payment of a fine. In Bengal such fine is treble postage. In Madras it is one rupee in addition to the regulated postage.

48. The hours for delivery of letters from the General Post Office differ at each Presidency.

49. In Bengal, there are always two deliveries daily, but these are not regular. The first delivery is not before 10 A.M. The second is usually regulated by the arrival of the several Mails during the day, and it occasionally happens, when several English ships arrive together, as many as five or six deliveries take place in the same day.

50. At Madras there are two regular deliveries daily at 8 A.M. and 4 P.M.

51. In Bombay letters are delivered irregularly from 10 till 5.

52. The hour up to which Mails from the mofussil received at the General Post Office, are opened on the day of receipt differs in each Presidency. In Bengal it is 3 P.M. In Madras 4 P.M. In Bombay 5 P.M. Mails received after the above hour are not opened before the following morning, as the writers are employed in registering letters received for despatch. When a Mail is opened all its contents are distributed the same day, whether for delivery at the Presidency itself or for further transmission by Dawk. Europe Mails unless received very late at night, are always opened on receipt, and delivery made immediately the contents are registered to persons sending for the same.

53. The hour of despatching the Mails from the General Post Office, is not the same at the three Presidencies. In Bengal and Madras they are despatched at 8 P.M. In Bombay at 6 P.M.

54. At Madras there is moreover a second despatch daily to St. Thomas Mount, the artillery head quarters, 8 miles distant, at 11 A.M.

55. In Bengal, the Mails are despatched on 6 different routes, in Madras on 5, in Bombay on 4.

In Bengal the six routes are:—

1. To Barrackpore, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Allyghur, where it divides one branch going to Delhi, Kurnaul and Loodianah, the other to Meerut and Landour. This route is the great Dawk route to Upper and Central India, and has branches, east and west, to Agra, Patna, Goruckpore, Lucknow, Nepal, Gualior, Neemuch, Mhow and all the principal stations of upper Hindostan and Central India.
2. To Berhampore, Maldah, Dinajpore, Rungpore, and Assam with a branch to Bhaugulpore and Monghyr.
3. To Dumdum, Baraset, Jessore, Dacca, Chittagong and Arracan.
4. To Kedgerree.

5. To Dinapore, Sumbalpore, Nagpore, Aurrungabad, to Poonah and Bombay with branches North and South from Nagpore, *vide* routes 2. Madras and 1. Bombay.
6. To Jelasore, Balasore, Cuttack, Poree to Ganjam, Bezoarah, Madras, and Ceylon with branches east and west from Bezoarah, *vide* route 1. Madras.
57. A Banghy also travels on each of the above roads save No. 5 where it only proceeds as far as Nagpore.
58. In Madras the five routes are:—
  1. To Nellore, Guntoor, Bezoarah, Vizagapattam, Ganjam, and Calcutta with a branch from Bezoarah east to Masulipatam and west to Hyderabad.
  2. To Ponamalle, Cuddapah, Gooty, Bellary and Darwar and by a branch to Kurnool, Hyderabad, Nagpore and Allahabad.
  3. To Poonamally, Arcot, Bangalore, Seringapatam, Cannanore, Telli-cherry and Mangalore and by a branch from Bangalore to Hurryhur, Darwar, Poonah, and Bombay and branches from Mysore north-west to Mangalore and south-west to the Neelgheries and Callicut.
  4. To Conjeveram, Arcot, Vellore, Salem, Avanashy, Ootacamund, and from Avanashy to Coimbatore, Paulghautcherry and Callicut.
  5. To St. Thomas Mount, Chingleput, Tindavanum, Trichinopoly, Madras, Palamcotta and Travancore. On this road a Dawk Banghy runs as far as Tindeveram, and thence to Pondichery, Cuddalore, Sheally, Negapattam and Ceylon branching from Sheally also to Tanjore and Trichinopoly.
59. The Dawk Banghy differs from the ordinary Banghy to be hereafter described, as it conveys the letter mail as well as parcels. It is peculiar to this one route.
60. The Banghy is confined to routes No. 1, to Calcutta and No. 3 as far as Cannanore.
61. There was formerly a Banghy to the Neelgherry Hills but it was abolished in 1834, as its receipts did not cover its cost.
62. In Bombay, the four routes are:—
  1. To Panwell and Poonah, where it divides, one branch going *via* Ahmednuggar, Arungabad to Calcutta, the other *via* Sittarah, Belgaum, Darwar, Hurrybur and Madras with a branch east to Shollapore and Hyderabad, another from Belgaum west to Vingorla on the coast north of Goa and a third from Darwar to

Honore and Mangalore on the coast south of Goa, and a fourth east to Bellary.

2. To Tannah, Nassik, Mulligaum, Mhow, and Central and Upper India.
3. To Surat, Broach, Baroda, Kaira, Ahmedabad, Deesa, Pahlunpore and Serowee with branch Dawks from Baroda to Mhow, and from Kaira to Rajkot and Cutch.
4. To Panwell, Dapoolee, Rutnagherry and Vingorla.

63. There is no separate Banghy establishment under the Bombay Presidency.

64. The Dawks on the above several great routes travel direct throughout their whole extent without stoppage and independent of each other, with exception of the following.

65. The great western mail from Cannanore, Madras Presidency route No. 3, to Madras, is detained at Bangalore to await the passing of that from Bombay.

66. The Bengal and Madras Mails *en route* to Bombay, are each detained daily at Poonah, let them arrive at what hour they may, till 5 P.M. when both are conveyed together to Bombay, there being but one conveyance by contract between Poonah and Bombay. The mails from Bombay to Bengal and Madras are not however subjected to any similar detention at Poonah.

67. The Cross Dawks await the passing of the several great mails at their respective points of junction, and are by them taken up and brought on.

68. In Bengal and Madras the mails are first wrapped in paper, and then in wax cloth throughout the year, and double wax cloth during the rains. In Bombay they are packed in coarse Dungaree cloth in fine weather, and in wax cloth only during the rains by which system the Postmaster General, Bombay reports a material saving has been effected.

69. Throughout India, each packet when closed is carefully sealed.

70. In Bengal and Madras the packets are put into leather wallets. In Bombay they are packed in a coarse hempen bag for despatch by the mail cart to Poonah, and on the other roads they are placed in bags of Dungaree covered with wax cloth.

71. The Bengal wallet is of a superior description both in respect to model and manufacture. In shape it resembles a soldier knapsack, and is composed of very well-tanned double leather, laced up and folded over at top, fastened by buckles and straps and secured by 3 seals. It is however doubtful whether any substance except metal would be perfectly proof against exposure to weather and the friction a wallet must experience from the back of a runner and Mr. Elliot states, that the wallets now in use in Bengal have been immersed in

water for 12 hours without their contents sustaining such enquiry, as they have subsequently received on a lengthened exposure to heavy rain on the road. The Bengal wallet weighs about 5 lbs.

72. The Madras wallet is considerably larger than that of Bengal, and is merely a strong leathern bag secured by a single strap and seal. It is lighter than the Bengal wallet being under 4 lbs. in weight and is more simple and more easily packed. It does not seem however to afford so thorough a protection against wet as that of Bengal.

73. The Bombay mail bag is as above stated of Dungaree and wax cloth and appears of very simple construction.

74. There are three separate and distinct systems adopted for the conveyance of the mails by land both Dawk and Banghy in India. Firstly by contract on the principle of payment proportioned to accelerated or diminished speed, secondly by Government establishments of men on fixed and permanent monthly pay without reference to rates of travelling. Thirdly by Government establishments of men on a monthly pay which is increased if the rate of travelling exceeds a certain standard of speed.

75. The first system prevails partially in Bengal and Bombay.

76. In Bengal, from Calcutta on route 4, Kedgerie to its extremity 61 miles, on routes 5 and 6, 1,032 miles on the one and 341 on the latter, *viz.*, to the boundary of the Bengal territory on each, on route 1 to Kurnaul 974 miles and Meerut 893 miles and also by branch Dawks to Goruckpore and Agra which last has been recently extended to Gualior and Sehore. On route from Upper India to Mhow and Bombay on route 2 to Rungpur 309 miles and Bhaugulpore 277 miles and on route 3 to Chittagong 353 miles.

77. In Bombay it is confined to the route from Poonah to Bombay 72 miles by land and 24 by water, total 96 miles.

78. In both Presidencies the contract system on its present footing is of recent introduction; for some period however prior to its institution, the mail from Calcutta to Benares had been conveyed by contract in ekkas, a small wheeled conveyance and from Allahabad to Allyghur by a horse contract, but the system was not found to answer. The ekkas failed entirely in the rains and Mr. Elliot states the rates of contract were not sufficiently liberal. It was accordingly abandoned.

79. In 1830 the existing contract plan was established in Bengal by the Hon'ble Mr. Elliot. By this system, a route is divided into distances of various lengths each division terminating at some sudder station, so that the reports of arrival and departure are checked by an European authority, each contractor makes his own bargain for remuneration, and simply specifies the mode in which he purposes to fulfil his contract and reports to the Postmaster General

any change in his system he may find it expedient to adopt. He carries the mails as he pleases, and no muster of his people or interference with his arrangements is permitted. All that is required from him is to deliver the mails at the time contracted for whatever that rate may be. For every half mile an hour gained in speed, he receives an increased allowance calculated by a graduated scale of a certain number of annas per rupee and for every half mile lost he forfeits a portion of his contract allowance, calculated on a similar scale. The rate contracted for is by no means uniform but varies according to circumstances. The maximum rate is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour, the minimum 3D but this low rate prevails only for a short distance *en route* to Bombay.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 5 miles per hour may be stated as the usual contract rate. The mail contractors agree for both Dawk and Banghy, the latter of course at less speed than the former, and although the details of the latter contracts are somewhat different, their principles are materially the same.

80. The results of this system in respect to speed have proved most beneficial, as will appear by the annexed contrasted statement D of the rate of travelling on the principal roads of Bengal in 1825 and 1835 respectively, from which it appears that on an average of the several routes the speed has been increased full 50 per cent. or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile an hour, the rate in 1825 averaging 3 miles an hour, that for 1835,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour including stoppages.

81. It must not however be concealed that this increased speed has been purchased at considerable cost. A contrasted statement of the respective expenses in annexed E from which it appears that the contract system has exceeded, by about 70 per cent., the Government establishments it replaced, namely, cost of Government establishments for 12 months, 101,319=Co. Rs. 1,05,878-5-7. The cost of 35 contracts for 12 months, 172,922=Co. Rs. 1,80,703-7-9; excess cost of contract system, S. Rs. 71,603=Co. Rs. 74,825-2-2.

82. In Bombay, the only existing contract is to Poonah 96 miles. The terms are 6 miles an hour in fair weather and 5 miles in the rains. The mails are conveyed, as far as they go by land, in a wheeled carriage, which the contractor is bound to make suitable for the conveyance of one passenger along with the mails. The contract was originally established in 1831, from Poonah to Panwell 72 miles by land. It has recently been extended to Bombay 24 miles by water.

83. The cost of this contract per annum is as follows:—Land carriage Rupees 12,000; Water Carriage Rupees 5,740; total for 96 miles Rupees 17,740.

84. We should here state that at Madras in 1833 enquiries were preferred by a Committee as to the expediency or otherwise of substituting contracts for Government establishments throughout that Presidency as a means of expedit-

ing the conveyance of the mails. The opinions of the local district authorities not being however in general favourable to the practicability of the measure, the plan was eventually abandoned.

85. The second system or that by which the entire Post Office Department throughout India was formerly conducted, still prevails in Bengal, on all routes beyond the termination of the several contracts except in the Oude province, and throughout the Madras and Bombay Presidencies except from Bombay to Poonah.

86. This system consists in sets of men, in Government pay, being stationed at certain fixed stages along the line of route by which the mails are conveyed. The system is not however uniform, save that the salaries of the men are fixed without reference to speed. The rates of pay are different, the rates of travelling are different, the distances of stages are different, the mode of conveying the mail is different, the mode of supervision is different and lastly the weight carried by them is regulated by different standards.

87. In Bengal, the ordinary pay of a Dawk runner is rupees 4, of an overseer 6. In Madras the pay of a runner varies from rupees 4 to 7, that of the overseers reduced in 1834, varied from rupees 6 to 10. In Bombay, the pay of a runner is from rupees  $4\frac{3}{4}$  to 7 and that of an overseer from rupees 7 to 12 per month.

88. In Bengal the rate of travelling on routes under this system does not exceed four miles an hour, while the general rate is very materially lower. In Madras the rate varies from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 miles per hour. In Bombay from  $3\frac{3}{4}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour a rate in fact, which is often slower than that of the Banghy in Bengal under the contract system, but in that Presidency it must be remembered there is no Banghy for the conveyance of the heavier Government despatches.

89. In Bengal the length of stages varies from 6 to 11 miles agreeably to local circumstances.

90. In Madras, the length of stages on the great routes varies from 6 to 7 or even 8 miles; occasionally and on the small cross routes from 10 to 11 miles.

91. In Bombay, the stages vary from 8 to 10 miles.

92. In Bengal, the runners only carry the mail *one way*, up or down as the case may be.

93. In Madras and Bombay, they convey the mail both *ways* running regularly *up* one day and *down* the next.

94. In Bengal, the runners are generally, and in Bombay, occasionally supervised by persons called Uddadars or Overseers, whose duty it is to superintend the rate of travelling, to see that the men are at their posts, and to pay them their wages, but they do not appear to be employed on any fixed or uni-

form scale, with reference either to extent of route, or the number of runners each may have to supervise. The Committee have requested the opinion of local officers as to the expediency of retaining these servants.

95. In Madras, Overseers were in like manner employed until 1834, when they were discharged, to the number of seventy-three (73) at the recommendation of the Madras Post Office Committee, by which a saving of Rupees 8,000 per annum was effected. Only 4 Overseers are now retained in the Madras Presidency. The Committee have preferred enquiries respecting the results of this measure.

96. In Bengal, the maximum load allowed by Regulation for each Runner is 8 seers or 16-lbs. *i.e.*, 11-lbs. exclusive of the wallet, but in cases of emergency wallets are occasionally made up to a weight of 22-lbs. or even 28-lbs.

97. In Madras, the maximum load allowed by Regulation for each Runner is 18-lbs., or 14-lbs. exclusive of the wallet. But this Regulation is not attended to, for the return of weight actually carried in July last, furnished by the Postmaster General, shows that, on the Dawks of that month, on three out of the five great routes from Madras, the average for the entire month was in excess of that weight, that on many days the loads were materially in excess of that weight and that even as much as 40-lbs. have been carried by a single Runner.

98. In Bombay, the weight to be carried by a Dak Runner is not fixed by any Regulation, but from the returns of weight actually carried in July last, the average appears to be 12-lbs., but it is frequently in excess of 18-lbs., and as much as 50-lbs. have been even carried by a single Runner, while it must be borne in mind that the cloth bag or wallet itself in which such packets are conveyed, is very inconsiderable.

99. The third system is confined to the province of Oude, and has only been established since the year 1831. The Runners receive a fixed pay of Rupees 4 per mensem and the Overseer Rupees 6 per mensem, but should the average rate of speed during the month exceed or equal 5 miles an hour, each Runner receives 8 annas and each Overseer a Rupee extra, being an increase of about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. but they never receive any further reward than this, let the increased speed of travelling be what it may, while on the other hand they are mulcted for unnecessary delays. The average rate of travelling in the Oude province did not exceed  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour until the year 1830, when it had improved to about 4 miles an hour. The subjoined statement F of the rate travelled during six months from April to October 1835, shows an average monthly speed from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  up to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour, a result which may justly be stated as no less surprising than satisfactory and which reflects high credit on Captain Paton, the Assistant Resident at Lucknow to whom Government is in-

debted for the original plan, as also for having superintended its establishment and success.

100. The extra cost of this system is very moderate; under no circumstances can it increase the expenditure more than  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and yet we are not aware that a higher rate of speed has been attained in India for any lengthened distance, than under its operation.

101. In Bengal, all the mails whether on main routes or cross roads are despatched daily.

102. In Madras and Bombay, one or two small cross mails are despatched only twice or thrice a week.

103. There are three places where the mail is conveyed for some distance by water.

First.—Throughout Assam, along the Eastern Frontier of Bengal, where it is conveyed by canoes, as a great portion of that province is inundated throughout the year or intersected with numerous large streams.

Secondly.—From Panwell to Bombay, a distance of 24 miles, down a river and across an arm of sea. It is conveyed partly on canoes, and partly in stout boats. This work is now performed by contract.

Lastly.—From Kedgerree to Calcutta, 61 miles, although there is a land post from Kedgerree, the same would be insufficient to convey the numerous and weighty packages received from Europe. For this purpose an efficient establishment of Boats is maintained at Kedgerree, one of which boards every vessel on arrival, and receiving from it the box, packets, etc., brings the same up to Calcutta.

104. In the Madras Presidency, letters are conveyed, on such routes as the mail does not travel, by a system which promotes the public convenience and also increases the revenue. In every district daily communications pass between the Revenue and Magisterial Officers and their respective subordinates throughout the province, and these are conveyed principally by the village or district peons. It was well-known that these peons conveyed private letters, and it was thus thought by the Madras Committee in 1833-34 that their services might be brought to account by legalizing such conveyance, on payment of postage. Accordingly letters may now be received by any Revenue Officer throughout the country, at the regulated rates of postage, and forwarded by means of the Collector's Dawk to the nearest Post Office. The accounts are kept by the Cutcherry servants of the Collector, and the amount received credited by that officer monthly in one item, as received from District Tappalls. It would not appear from the returns before the Committee that the system has been uniformly adopted throughout that Presidency, but in some districts the receipts are considerable.

105. When the exigencies of the public service demand unusual despatch, it is the practice at all the three Presidencies to send letters by "Express." As however no separate establishment is retained for this purpose public officers are enjoined to use Express as sparingly as possible, in order not to interfere with the transit of the regular mails. In Madras indeed, if any public officer forwards a despatch "Express" and it should appear that the exigency of the service did not require such conveyance he is liable to be made to pay for the same at the rate of 2 annas a mile, for the whole distance. At Madras General Post Office, the Postmaster General is enjoined not to forward an Express without special instructions from the Chief Secretary to Government.

106. In Bengal, private individuals may have the privilege of an express, on payment for the same at 4 annas a mile, they are not however of frequent occurrence anywhere, but are occasionally employed between Calcutta and Kedgerree.

107. The time occupied by the two last Expresses from Madras to Calcutta was 7 days 13 hours and 7 days 16½ hours respectively, which shows a rate of travelling including stoppages, of rather more than 5 miles 6 furlongs per hour.

108. The rate of an Express from Bombay to Calcutta is not quite equal to this, but the time, occupied by the last Express, was only 10 days 22½ hours, which shows a rate of travelling, including stoppages of rather more than 5 miles 3 furlongs per hour.

109. The opening of mails between stations is inhibited except on urgent occasions which must be reported to the Postmaster General, as well as to the nearest office to which the mails are in transit.

110. In Bengal and Madras, the Postmaster General sends the packets duly made up direct on board the vessel about to sail, and takes a receipt for the same from the Commander. He in like manner receives all packets brought by ship direct from the vessel.

111. In Bombay all such packets are forwarded, through the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, whether to or from any vessel.

112. At Madras and Bombay, when packets are open for despatch by sea, the same is notified to the public in the Gazettee, as also by a notice at the Post Office.

113. At Madras and Bombay, it is also notified in the Gazette, by what vessels letters received between the several dates specified have been despatched. No similar convenience is adopted in Bengal, beyond the return of the Che-launs to the Mofussil offices on which are marked the vessel by which such letters will be despatched.

114. In Bengal and Madras, parcels imported are forwarded immediate-

ly by Banghy. In Bombay, there being no Banghy, such parcels are not forwarded by post, except under special instructions. The Postmaster General notifies periodically in the Gazette, a list of parcels received and remaining at the Post Office.

115. In Bombay, the Superintendent of the Indian Navy notifies to the Postmaster General the arrival of vessels from Europe, and intended departure of vessels to all parts of the world, and further furnishes weekly a list of all ships in the Harbour whose destination is known, with the probable period of departure.

116. We now proceed to the levying of postage throughout India.

117. Inland postage levied on all letters throughout India, which are not franked by some competent public officer, or addressed to certain specified authorities. But the rates of postage, the principles on which, under certain circumstances, it is calculated, and the mode in which it is levied, vary most materially in the three Presidencies.

118. *First* as respects the rates of postage.

119. The rates of inland letter postage are different at each Presidency, as shown in the annexed Schedule G in which the rates are shown as now existing, and as they were severally in 1828.

120. The general average rate of the Bombay scale up to 1,500 miles may be briefly stated at about 30 per cent. above Bengal, and 8 above Madras, while the Madras scale, reduced 15 per cent. from April 1834, is still about 21 per cent. above the Bengal standard. The data and calculations, on which these averages are assumed, are annexed in Statement H.

121. In Bengal, the minimum postage is 2 annas for 50 miles and advances to a maximum of annas 20 for 2,300 miles.

122. In Madras, the minimum postage is 1 anna for 15 miles, and advances to a maximum of annas 16 for all distances beyond 1,000 miles.

123. In Bombay the minimum postage is 2 annas for 30 miles and increases to 8 annas for 300 miles, and an anna extra for every additional hundred miles, but letters not exceeding half *Sicca* weight are considered half letters, and liable only to half single postage.

124. Throughout India, Law Papers, Registers, Accounts, Vouchers, etc. attested as such by the full signature of the party sending them, and as not containing any other writing, are permitted to be sent by Post at lower rates, with reference to their weight, than ordinary letters. But the regulation is not uniform.

125. Any breach of the above stipulations subjects the parties offending to a heavy penalty, which penalty is uniform throughout India.

126. In Bengal and Madras, on all such papers etc., single postage is charged for every three Sicca weight, in the former up to 21 Sicca, in the latter to 15 Sicca.

127. In Bombay single postage is charged for every 4 Sicca weight up to 25 Siccas.

128. We must here note the several changes in the rate throughout India of letter postage since 1828.

129. In Bengal, in that year, the rates of letter Postage were as per margin.\* In 1829 a new scale was experimentally introduced, which on distances up to 500 miles was estimated at a reduction of about  $\frac{1}{3}$ , but

Miles	Annas
*50	2
125	3
150	3½
175	4
200	4½
300	6
400	7½
500	9
600	10½
700	12
800	13½
900	15
1000	16½
1100	18
1200	19½
1300	21
1400	22½
1500	24

†30	2
60	3
90	4
120	5
150	6
180	7
210	8
250	9
300	10
400	11
500	12
600	13
700	14
800	15
900	16
1000	17
1100	18
1200	19
1300	20
1400	21
1500	22

beyond that distance the reduction was gradually augmented, until at 1,000 miles and upwards, the scale was only half of the former rates the principle of which was to relieve Residents at great distances from the very heavy charges to which they had been subjected. Letters at half Sicca weight were also received at half single postage. In 6 months the collections had fallen off by about  $\frac{1}{3}$ . This was principally attributed to half weight letters, the rule respecting which was accordingly abolished. The deficit in the following 6 months was reduced from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to about  $\frac{1}{4}$ . In 1830 a revised scale, still calculated on the principle of affording relief to persons at great distances, was introduced and is still in force.

130. In Madras. The rates of letter postage in 1828 were as per margin.† In the year 1833-34 a committee was appointed at Madras to enquire into these rates, and other matters connected with the Post Office; and on their report a revised rate, reduced about 15 per cent. below the then scale, was introduced from April 1834, and is that now in force.

131. The result of this arrangement is satisfactory, for although the reduced scale was estimated at 15 per cent. below the existing rates, or Rs. 40,000 on the collections of 1832-33, the actual falling off in receipts for 1834-35 has been only Rs. 212-11-3 or less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the collections of 1832-33.

132. It should however be added that that committee revised and abolished certain franking privileges, and as the number of Public or Service and free letters has since diminished by several thousands, it is probable this arrangement may have materially affected the receipts.

133. In Bombay, the existing rates of letter Postage are, with exception of the half letter rate, the same as were in force in 1828. On the 6th May, 1831, the half letter rate was established. On the 5th February 1834, these Regulations were superseded by a revised scale, which was framed, on the principle of one sheet of common letter paper being esteemed a single, two a double, and half a sheet only a half letter above 1 Sicca weight, postage was increased by half Siccas instead of by entire Siccas. A distinction was however made in respect to Native letters, when not written on English paper or folded in the English form. They were charged at the following increased rates.

Under  $\frac{1}{4}$  Sicca.—Half letter postage.

From  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  Sicca.—Single postage.

„  $\frac{1}{2}$  to Sicca.—Double.

after which single postage was added for every half Sicca weight.

134. The whole of this Regulation was rescinded 4th March 1835 by order of the Supreme Government, which declared that weight was the principle on which postage should be levied, and the rates, existing previous to 1834, were accordingly re-established.

135. The introduction of the half letter system caused a diminution of about 13 per cent. in the collections of 1831-32 and combined with the reduction in newspaper postage in June 1832 had still further increased that reduction in 1832-33 to about 21 per cent. In the year 1833-34, various orders respecting the privilege of franking, and directing the increased rate of postage, by  $\frac{1}{2}$  instead of whole Siccas, were enacted, and the receipts increased to very nearly those of 1831-32 while in the following year, owing to the full operation of the above alterations, and a revised rate of newspaper postage, they had increased to about 17 per cent. above those of 1830-31.

136. In Bengal letters and parcels are not received at the General Post Office for delivery in Calcutta itself.

137. In Madras letters not exceeding 10 Sicca weight, are received at the General Post Office, for delivery at the Presidency, at postage of 1 anna, and Parcels are received for delivery in like manner, up to 100 Sicca weight, at a charge of 2 annas.

138. In Bombay neither letters nor parcels are received at the General Post Office, nor at its Branch Post Office, Bycullah, for distribution on the Island of Bombay.

139. Throughout India the weight allowed for a single letter is 1 Sicca weight and single postage is added for every additional Sicca weight up to 21 Sicca in Bengal, 36 Sicca in Madras, and 25 Sicca in Bombay, beyond which weights respectively, letters are not received for despatch by the Letter Dak, but are sent by Banghy and charged for as Parcels.

140. In Bengal public letters are received by Dawk up to 25 Siccas only. But in Bombay, the rule is of necessity departed from in the case of Government despatches, as there is no Banghy by which they may be sent.

141. In Bengal and Madras, ship postage is levied on all letters received or sent by sea. At the former, the rate is 3 annas. At the latter 4 annas for a single letter.

*N. B.*—The postage on letters sent by sea from Madras has only been imposed from the 1st of December last.

142. In Bengal, all letters received by sea are burthened with an additional land postage from Kedgerree, at the rate of 3 annas for a single letter delivered in Calcutta. Such as are forwarded to the Mofussil are charged land postage direct from Kedgerree. But to stations beyond Cawnpore, no higher postage is charged than to that station. Thus 13 annas\* is the maximum postage levied anywhere in Bengal on a single letter imported by sea at Calcutta.

143. It is to be observed that this principle does not extend to letters landed at the other Presidencies, and thence transmitted to Bengal stations.

144. Letters received in Bengal, which have been landed at Madras or Bombay, or which are despatched from Bengal for shipment at those Presidencies, pay half the Bengal ship postage, in addition to the inland postage to which they are respectively liable, but letters similarly received at Madras, overland from the other Presidencies, are subjected to the full Madras ship postage in addition to the inland postage.

145. All letters sent for despatch by vessels that have dropped down the river below Cooly Bazar at Calcutta, are also charged land postage to Kedgerree over and above ship postage.

146. At Bombay ship postage at the rate of 2 annas per single letter, and increasing at the rate of 2 annas for each additional Sicca weight up to 21 Sicca weight was imposed on the 19th March 1830, but was taken off again 25th October 1831 and ship postage is not now levied at that Presidency on letters, papers, or parcels received or sent by sea.

147. At Bombay letters received from sea are neither numbered,

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\* Sea Postage 3 annas ; Inland Postage 10 annas, total 13 annas.

registered nor stamped, but those received for despatch to Europe are registered.

148. The weight allowed for a single letter exported or imported by sea both in Bengal and Madras is 1 Sicca. But the increase of postage on letters above that weight is not regulated on exactly the same system.

149. In Bengal, letters *exported* are subjected to sea postage as per annexed Scale I gradually increasing to a maximum charge of Rs. 3-8 and a maximum weight of 21 Sicca weight, beyond which packets of letters are charged as parcels.

150. Letters *imported* for Calcutta are subjected to the same Sea Postage as when exported.

151. Letters *imported* for transmission to the interior are subjected to the above rates, only as far as a maximum charge of Rs. 1-6, and a maximum weight of 8 Siccas, beyond which they are charged as parcels and despatched by Banghy. Thus a letter weighing 20 Sicca weight despatched from Cawnpore to Calcutta for shipment to Europe would be charged :

Ship Postage, Rs. 3 As. 6; Inland Postage, Rs. 12 As. 8; total Rs. 15 As. 14.

A similar letter imported and despatched to Cawnpore would be charged Ship Postage, Re. 1; Inland Postage, Rs. 2 As. 4; total Rs. 3 As. 4.

Difference between the charge for *Exported* and *Imported* Letter Rs. 12-10.

152. In Bengal, Law Papers, Accounts, Vouchers, etc., are subjected to a third of the above rates as far as 21 Siccas, above which they are also classed as parcels and charged accordingly.

153. At Madras, the rate for letters either on *Import* or *Export* is increased by single postage regularly for each additional Sicca weight as far as 15 Sicca weight, beyond which a ship letter is considered a packet and charged 4 rupees. Law Papers, Accounts, Vouchers, etc., are subjected to half these rates of ship postage up to 15 sicca weight, but above that weight they are also charged as a Packet, Rupees 4.

154. In Bengal, the ship postage rates for parcels are shown in the annexed Statement K, the minimum rate is 8 annas, from 8 to 12 sicca weight, and increases to maximum of Rs. 5-8 for 300 sicca weight and upwards.

155. In Madras, Parcels received by sea are subjected to a charge of 2 annas each, when delivered by the Distributing Peons, but not otherwise.

156. In Bombay, no postage is levied on Ship parcels.

157. Houses of Agency frequently open letter bags at their respective offices, for receipt of letters, papers, etc., and despatch the same on board to the care of the Commander, by which the payment of ship postage, leviable at Bengal and Madras on exported letters, is evaded.

158. Transfer postage is peculiar to Bengal. It is  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna extra sea postage, which is levied on all letters from Europe, transhipped at Madras or elsewhere for more speedy conveyance to Calcutta. This  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna is paid as Bounty Money to the Commander who brings the letters to Calcutta. The regulated Bounty being paid besides to the Commander who brings the same from Europe.

159. Letters received or sent by any steamer to and from the Red Sea, were originally subjected to a Ship postage of 4 Rupees for a single letter, in addition to Inland Postage. This rate was reduced in 1833, to Rupee 1 for a single letter in addition to Inland Postage and which is that now in force.\*

160. Secondly as respects the principles on which postage is calculated.

161. In Bengal and Madras when letters are despatched from any one station to another, postage is levied not accordingly to the direct distance between them, but according to the distance however circuitous such letter may happen to be conveyed. Thus from Cuddalore to Annee the actual distance is 80 miles but a letter between those stations is conveyed *via* Madras, and travels 213 miles; postage is therefore charged annas 7 for 213 miles in lieu of annas 4 for 80 miles.

162. In Bombay, Postage is charged according to the direct distance between stations, however circuitous the route by which the letter may be conveyed.

163. Should a letter follow a party from station to station, the principle of levying extra postage is not uniform. In Bengal and Bombay, postage is charged at each station as though a fresh despatch. Thus if a letter, addressed to Poonah 96 miles, follow a person to Ahmednuggur 80 more, and thence to Belgaum miles 270, total 446 miles postage is charged first, for 96 miles 4 annas, then for 80 miles 4 annas, and lastly for 270 miles 8 annas, total 16 annas, whereas agreeably to the Madras practice, and at the same rate of postage, postage would be only charged for the distance travelled 446 miles, 10 annas.

164. Thirdly, as to the mode of levying postage.

165. In Bengal, *full postage must* be paid in advance on all English letters, but native letters, addressed to natives only, may be sent on payment of *half* postage in advance, the remainder being recovered from the Receiver.

166. Letters delivered into chowkies or stations where there is no Deputy Post Master are, however, only received "Bearing" and as letters for despatch

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\* Steam Postage: note:—From the end instant by order of Bombay Government letters from Cairo only pay half Steam postage and those from Jedda and other places in the Red sea to one third of the same,

to Europe are necessarily required to be paid in full in advance, such letters are only permitted to be received at the office of a Deputy Postmaster.

167. In Madras and Bombay, it is optional with all parties European or Native, writing to places within the limits of their respective Presidencies, to send their letters either "post paid" or "bearing" except when they forward letters for despatch by sea, in which case, as also when addressing persons beyond their own Presidency, postage must be paid in advance, if not for the entire distance, at least to the boundary line.

168. Letters between Bengal and Bombay respectively, *must* be paid for the whole distance agreeably to the rates of the Post Office despatching the same.

169. Letters between Bengal and Madras or Madras and Bombay, may be paid for the entire distance, or only to the boundary line, except in the instance from Madras to Nagpore at the option of the parties.

170. If to the boundary line only, the balance of postage to be recovered from the receiver is levied on very dissimilar principles at Madras, from what is practised in Bengal and Bombay. In the two latter Presidencies, a letter so sent, is considered as two distinct despatches, and is charged afresh from the boundary line, the effect of which is to levy a much higher import than is chargeable for the entire distance, for it must be borne in mind that the rates of postage below 300 miles, are much higher in proportion to distance than beyond 300 miles. The same practice formerly prevailed at Madras, but the Committee of 1833-34 considered that "the division of a route into two distinct parts" by the occurrence of a boundary line ought to make no difference in the "the amount of postage" and that if 16 annas were a fair postage from Calcutta to Madras, and 9 annas the rate from Calcutta to Preaghy, the charge for the remaining distance should alone be annas 7 to complete the Rupee, and not annas 12 as had heretofore been the practice. Credit is therefore now given at Madras for the portion already paid at Bengal or Bombay, and the difference between such sum and the full postage only levied from the Receiver at Madras.

171. Letters from India to Ceylon must be paid in full in advance, but when letters arrive under cover from Europe to Residents in India, such letters may be forwarded as ship letters "Bearing Postage."

172. Letters for transmission by sea are received "post paid" at any station in Madras and Bombay and in Madras, a person sending such letter from any station receives in due course a stamped acknowledgment of its receipt at the General Post Office.

173. In Bengal, similar security is obtained for the safe conveyance of

letters to Europe from the interior, by the return of the duplicate chelaun, or way bill, to the office despatching the same, on which is marked the vessel by which such letters will be despatched.

174. We find no similar security afforded by the Bombay Regulations.

175. Throughout the three Presidencies, when individuals address a public officer on their private affairs, postage must be paid in advance, but this practice is reversed when such public officers correspond with individuals on such subjects, as they superscribe the letters with their official signature and send them "bearing postage."

176. Throughout the three Presidencies, the following letters pass free of postage, although the same are not franked by any competent authorities nor addressed on the public service.

*First.*—Letters from England to European Soldiers in His Majesty's or the Hon'ble Company's Services.

*N.B.*—This exemption is directed by Act IV, George IV Cap. 81.

*Secondly.*—Letters to the Secretary of the Civil, Military, and Medical Funds, on the business of those funds.

177. In Madras the following letters also pass free.

*First.*—Letters to Secretary of the Medical Societies Madras and Calcutta, and of the Asiatic Society, Madras.

*Secondly.*—Letters of Natives to the Commissary General or any of his officers on the business of that department.

178. In Bengal and Madras, letters may be despatched by Sea, at the option of parties, to places where there is conveyance by land. In Bengal, at the regulated land postage, together with half seapostage. In Madras, at the regulated land postage only.

179. All the three Presidencies, letters inaccurately franked are subjected to postage.

180. We must here bring to the notice of Government the existing practice with respect to letters *from* Ceylon, by which a continued loss is sustained. By the Post Office Regulations of that Island we observe that postage is charged by His Majesty's Government to places throughout India, at rates varying from 6 pence to 3 shillings. By a return furnished to the Madras Committee in 1833 it appears that the number of letters received at Madras in the month of June was 133 of which 130 were post paid in full. Now no postage is levied in India on any letters so "paid in full." All Ship letters moreover received on the main land for transmission to Ceylon, are forwarded to that Island by the Dawk, "Bearing Postage", but we do not find in either case that any

of postage on account of such letters are transferred by the Ceylon to the Indian Government. Ceylon letters are thus conveyed throughout India at the cost of the Indian Government without the latter deriving any benefit from the same, and it should here especially be observed that the Dak from Negapatam to Point Calmère as well as the establishment of boats from that place to Point Pedro, are maintained by the Madras Government for the exclusive conveyance of letters to and from that Island at a cost of more than 2,000 Rupees per annum.

181. Newspapers to and from that Island are however charged with postage in India. In Bengal, it is considered a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  station. At Madras the charge is 5 annas, but Madras postage is not charged on such papers as are carried through that Presidency to Bengal or Bombay.

182. Inland postage is levied on all newspapers printed in India, not franked by certain privileged authorities or addressed to them, agreeably to the scales annexed statement L and which are graduated with reference both to weight and distance.

183. In Bengal and Madras, the weight allowed for a single paper is three siccas with a gradually increasing scale for 4 and 6 siccas respectively on which latter weight the charge is doubled. In Bengal an allowance of  $\frac{1}{4}$  Sicca is made to newspaper proprietors in the rains to allow for damp.

184. In Bombay the weight allowed for a single paper is 4 sicca weight, and when above that weight and not exceeding 8 siccas the charge is double.

185. In Madras and Bombay the official Gazettes of both Governments go free, as also at the former, the Ceylon Government Gazette and the Calcutta Gazette. In Bengal, no such privilege exists, as all Official Gazettes are there charged with postage, when despatched into the interior, and not destined for record in some public office.

186. The rates of newspaper postage are different at each Presidency and are detailed in the annexed contrasted statement L.

187. In Bengal, two scales exist, a minimum of annas  $2\frac{1}{2}$  for all distances not exceeding 400 miles and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  annas for all beyond that distance. These rates convey newspapers, provided they are not opened, following a person about the country, unless he moves from a  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  anna station, in which case they are subjected to the higher rate.

188. In Madras, the scale commences with the minimum of a anna up to 15 miles and increases to a maximum of 6 annas to all distances beyond 500 miles. These rates carry papers over the entire Presidency, following persons from station to station provided they are not opened, without further charge.

189. In Bombay the scale commences with a minimum of 1 anna up to 30 miles and increases to a maximum of 10 annas 9 pie for 1,400 miles.

190. It is difficult to form an average between rates presenting such remarkable discrepancies. But it may be observed, that to distances not exceeding 100 miles, the Madras and Bombay rates are below Bengal. At 200 miles they are nearly even, viz.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  annas and three annas respectively but above that distance the two former scales rapidly increase, until at six hundred miles they both are about 25 per cent. higher than Bengal. The Madras scale here stops, but the Bombay increases until it is considerably upwards of double the Bengal maximum.

191. Newspapers from Bengal to Bombay are charged Bengal postage for the entire distance and from Bombay to Bengal are charged Bombay postage in like manner. A paper therefore from Calcutta to Bombay pays  $4\frac{1}{2}$  annas. One from Bombay to Calcutta  $10\frac{1}{2}$  annas.

192. From Madras to Bengal or Bombay the practice is different. Postage is charged by either post office to its respective boundary thus: Bombay and Madras, 4 annas Bombay postage and 5 annas Madras postage, total, 9 annas. Bengal and Madras,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  annas Bengal postage and 6 annas Madras postage, total  $8\frac{1}{2}$  annas:—

193. The existing rates of Newspaper postage were all established in 1834.

194. It is here necessary to state the several changes in newspaper postage effected of late years in each Presidency.

195. In Bengal up to the year 1829, Newspaper postage was charged at the rates as per margin. In that year these rates being deemed excessive a reduced rate was experimentally adopted for 2 years under a bond from the proprietors of papers to make good any deficit of Revenue that might result from its introduction.

Weight.	Rate of Postage.
Not exceeding 3 Siccas	Single Letter Postage
3 to 4 Siccas	Double
4 to 5 Siccas	Treble
and so on to 10 Sicca weight beyond which they were not received.	

196. The circulation of papers increased considerably but still in the first year the aggregate receipts had fallen off about  $\frac{1}{4}$ . In the second year the circulation further increased and the falling off in receipts was reduced to  $\frac{1}{7}$ th. The system was then extended experimentally for two further years. In 1834, there was still a small deficit in the amount of newspaper collections as contrasted with the receipts of 1828, and the rates were accordingly raised by the addition of  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna to each scale and which rates are still in force.

197. At Madras Newspapers were charged single letter postage till the

27th July 1832, when the rate was reduced to half letter postage. But the *Male Asylum Herald* which then conveyed the Government orders went free. From April 1st, 1834 the rate was further reduced about 15 per cent. to the present scale, but the exemption from postage till then enjoyed by the *Herald* was withdrawn.

198. In Bombay Newspapers were charged single letter postage till 18th April 1826 when the rate was somewhat reduced. On the 5th June 1832, it was still further reduced to 2/5th of such letter postage, experimentally and on the 14th May, 1834, the present scale was fixed by adding 40 per cent. to the then existing rate.

199. In Bengal and Madras the postage on newspapers forwarded by individuals must be paid in advance.

200. In Bengal and Madras, Newspapers, etc., when sent direct from the press may be sent under an approved engagement on the part of the proprietors of the press "Bearing postage" except in cases when the paper is directed beyond the boundary of the Presidency where printed, in which case postage must be paid in advance. If with Ceylon or between Bengal and Bombay in full. If between Bengal and Madras or Madras and Bombay to the boundary line *only*.

201. In Bombay Newspapers may in all instances within that Presidency be forwarded "Bearing" or "Post Paid" at the option of the parties.

202. In Bengal and Madras, Newspapers returned are charged full postage for despatch, and half postage for return distance. In Bombay, they are charged full postage for the entire distance conveyed.

203. In Bengal and Madras, Newspapers are only received as such, when made up in short covers open at the end. In Bombay in addition to the above stipulation they must not exceed 5 inches by 3.

204. Any writing whatever on the margin or cover of a newspaper other than the direction or enclosed within it, renders the same liable to the penalty prescribed for law papers in like cases, vide paragraph 125.

205. Printed or lithographed letters or circulars are liable to full letter postage.

206. In Madras parcels of newspapers not exceeding a cube of 6 inches may be sent by Banghy at the ordinary Banghy charge, but above that size are subjected to double Banghy postage.

207. Ship newspaper postage is not levied uniformly throughout India.

208. In Bengal it is levied on all newspapers received or despatched by sea as follows:—On export or Import off Calcutta:—For each cover without reference to weight not exceeding 12 seers, annas 2½.

209. If shipped or unshipped off Kedgerree which, although only 61 miles distant, is considered a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  anna station, postage is levied as follows in Calcutta:

				Ship Postage.	Land Postage.	TOTAL.
				Annas.	Annas.	Annas.
For each cover not exceeding 6 Siccas	...			2	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Do. Do. 9 Siccas	...			2	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{2}$
Do. Do. 12 Siccas	...			2	$8\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$

and the same postage only is charged for a cover delivered at Loodiana 1,164 miles distant as for one delivered in Calcutta.

210. In Madras, Ship postage is not charged on newspapers imported or exported by sea.

211. In Bombay Ship postage is not now charged on newspapers imported or exported by sea. In the year 1830, when ship postage was imposed on letters it was also imposed on parcels *exported* containing Newspapers, pamphlets, Law papers if open at each end, at one third of the ship letter rate. On parcels *imported* the charge up to 25 Sicca weight was 1 Rupee, up to 50 Sicca 2 Rupees, and an additional Rupee for every 50 Sicca weight. In the following year on 22nd April 1831 these rates were modified and the present Bengal sea scale for parcels adopted for every class of packet received in the post office. On the 25th October following all ship postage was abolished.

212. In Bengal all pamphlets and other printed papers are charged the same rate of inland postage as newspapers up to 6 Sicca weight and from

				Not exceeding 400 miles.	Beyond 400 miles.
				Annas.	Annas.
6 Sicca weight to 8 Sicca weight ...	...			6	12
8 " 10 " ...	...			7	14
10 " 12 " ...	...			8	16

and a single anna extra for each additional sicca to stations under 400 miles, and 2 annas to stations above that distance up to 21 siccas beyond which weight they are not sent by letter Dawk.

213. In Madras pamphlets and other printed papers not exceeding 3 sicca weight, are charged single letter postage but above that weight are charged half Banghy rates. Single price currents are however considered as newspapers.

214. On the routes on which the Banghy travels in the Madras Presidency newspapers, pamphlets and printed papers, exceeding in weight 1 Rupee are in all practicable cases despatched by such conveyance instead of by the letter Dawk.

215. In Bombay pamphlets and other printed papers are charged at the rate of a single letter for every 4 sicca weight except to Poonah 96 miles to which they are charged only 4 annas for every 10 sicca weight.

216. In Madras books printed at the Male Asylum press are sent by post or Banghy as the case may be without reference to weight at single letter postage payable at the place of delivery.

217. In Bombay certain religious periodicals are permitted to pass free. In Madras this privilege was formerly conceded, but it was abolished at the recommendation of the committee in 1834.

218. Throughout India the Proceedings and Journal of the Asiatic Society as well as those of the Medical and Physical Society, Calcutta, were formerly not liable to postage. But the privilege was withdrawn in 1834 except in Madras where the Proceedings of the Medical and Physical Society Calcutta still pass free.

219. Newspapers imported from England addressed to European soldiers in India are not charged with sea or land postage. This exemption is not prescribed by any special Regulation and it does not appear whence the practice originated but it is evidently of very old date.

220. In Bengal and Madras, Bounty money is payable at the undermentioned rates to masters of vessels or others bringing ship letters etc., excepting soldiers' and seamens' letters on which no ship postage is leviable to any post office or delivering the same to the Post Master General's agents.

221. In Bengal for each letter, packet of papers or parcel chargeable with postage from any port of India or to the eastward, or Ceylon or Java  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna: from all other ports 1 anna.

222. In Madras for each letter only from any port 1 anna.

223. In Bombay as no ship postage is levied no Bounty to masters of vessels is payable.

224. When packets are transhipped at Madras or elsewhere for speedy conveyance to Calcutta, the Bounty of 1 anna is paid to the Commander bringing them from England, while he who brings them to Calcutta receives  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna also, which extra  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna is accordingly charged to individuals as transfer postage.

225. A small bounty, not exceeding 1 pice per letter is payable at Calcutta to masters of steam vessels who bring up packets from the Sand Heads or other places in the River or who tow up the Dak Boats.

226. When steam vessels go down to overtake a ship on her way to sea and convey an after packet from the post office a bounty of 1 anna per letter is paid to the commander and which anna is accordingly charged to persons availing themselves of this despatch in excess of the regulated ship postage.

227. Commanders of ships do not receive in India bounty money for such letters as they may convey from this country, but for every letter they thus deliver in England they receive from His Majesty's General Post Office the sum of two pence.

228. On a certain number of great roads in India, a separate post for conveyance of packets and parcels not exceeding a certain weight, and at a lower rate of postage than is charged for letters, is maintained. It is called "The Banghy" and is conveyed in like manner as the letter dawk, either by contract or by Government Establishments. In Bengal both systems are adopted. In Madras only the latter system is known. In Bombay there is no Government Banghy.

229. The Banghy contract system was established in Bengal in 1832-33, two years subsequent to the institution of the mail contracts, but its principles are not exactly the same as the dak contract. The mail contractors are bound to convey the Banghies upon the following terms. The Postmaster-General determines the number of men required, changing the same as circumstances may render necessary. The contractor gets the pay of the men at 4 rupees a head per mensem, and 10 per cent. commission for managing them to go 3 miles an hour, with a scale of increase and decrease for augmented or diminished speed.

230. The results of this system, in respect to speed, have been most beneficial, as will appear from the annexed contrasted statement M of the rate of travelling before and after its institution, on the principal roads in Bengal, and from which it appears that the speed has been increased about 53 per cent. or nearly one mile an hour. The rate in 1832 very little exceeded  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile an hour. It now in some instances exceeds three miles, while the whole return for March, 1835, shows a general average of nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour.

231. The extra expense at which this augmented speed has been effected is detailed in the annexed statement N, from which it appears that the contract system has exceeded by about 24 per cent. the Government establishments it replaced *viz.*, cost of Government establishment for 12 months = 30,103; cost of contract system = 37,527; excess cost of contract system = 7,424.

*N.B.*—As some of these contracts have only been concluded a few months their cost is contrasted with the Government Establishments for such portion of the year only, as they have been actually in operation.

232. In Bengal the Banghy is maintained on all the direct routes from Calcutta to certain distances, and on several of the cross roads and over and above the regular Banghy, there are also extra Banghies which will be explained further on; *vide* paragraph 250.

233. In Madras, the Banghy is maintained only on two of the main routes, *viz.*, northward from Madras to Preaghy *en route* to Calcutta where it unites with the Bengal Banghy and westward from Madras to Cannanore. The rate of travelling may be stated at about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles per hour. There is besides a Dak Banghy southward from Madras to Trichinopoly, *via* Cuddalore and Tanjore, for the conveyance of letters as well as parcels. The Dak Banghy or "Letter and Parcel Post" is peculiar to this one route.

234. In Bengal and Madras, the weight carried by one man is limited to 50 lbs. divided into 2 boxes or baskets of 25 lbs. each. In the Dak Banghy above mentioned the weight is restricted to a total of 28 lbs.

235. In Bombay, there is now no separate Banghy Establishment. But the mail contractor from Bombay to Poonah is bound by his contract to convey parcels as well as letters between those two stations. This arrangement took effect from March, 1831. Parcels so forwarded to Poonah are transmitted to other stations by coolies supplied through the Dak Overseer at Poonah, at the regulated rates of hire.

236. In Bengal the Banghy is despatched daily except Sundays, 3 days being appropriated to public and 3 to private despatches.

237. In Madras, the Banghy is despatched only 3 days in the week, but the Dak Banghy to Trichinopoly is despatched daily except on Sundays.

238. In Bengal, parcels are received at the General Post Office for despatch up to 3 P.M.

239. In Madras they are received up to 2 P.M. but on the day of despatch only till 12 A.M.

240. In Bengal, packages are sent by Banghy up to 12 lbs. weight and a square of 12 inches by 15 inches deep.

241. In Madras, packages are sent only up to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  lbs. weight and a cube of 9 inches. In both Presidencies parcels are required to be cased in strong wax cloth and carefully sealed as a precaution against damp or robbery.

242. In Bengal and Madras parcels may be sent by the letter Dak at Banghy rates, to stations where there is no Banghy.

243. In Bengal, the size and weight of such parcels is left to the discretion of the Deputy Postmaster despatching the same.

244. In Madras, the weight is restricted to 80 Sicca weight rather less than 2 lbs.

245. In Bombay, parcels can only be thus sent through the Post Office up to 25 Sicca weight and at single letter postage for every 4 Sicca weight, except as above specified between Poonah and Bombay.

246. In Bengal, the Banghy conveyance is a painted wooden box of 18 inches cube. It is fastened with iron and closed by a small bar and padlock

which is also sealed. It is covered on the top with stout painted canvas, is strong and proof against any ordinary exposure to weather, but not always against the very heavy rains. A Banghy man carries two boxes, each box weighs from 13 to 15 lbs. so that the weight of the two may be stated at 28 lbs. and thus out of the maximum load for one man, *i.e.*, 50 lbs., 22 lbs. only of parcels are conveyed.

247. In Madras, the Banghy conveyance is a globular wicker basket about 18 inches in diameter and the same in depth, covered with stout painted canvas lined with Dungaree cloth and closed by 5 staples, with an iron chain passing through the whole, tied with a small cord and sealed. It is materially lighter, just half that of the Bengal conveyance being not more than 7 lbs. in weight. Thus the two baskets weigh but 14 lbs. and a Madras Banghy man, conveying the same maximum weight as in Bengal carries 36 lbs. of goods or 14 lbs. more than the Bengal man.

248. In Bombay, the parcels to Poonah are conveyed in the same cart which transports the mail. But previous to this arrangement, and when a Government Banghy conveyance was maintained from Bombay to Poonah, a very strong rattan basket, covered with painted canvas, about 18 inches in diameter by 12 deep and fastened by a brass staple and padlock, was used. The weight of these baskets was about 11 lbs. each, so that out of a full load of 50 lbs., the Bombay Banghyman carried 28 lbs. of parcels, *i.e.*, 6 pounds more than the Bengal Banghyman and 8 pounds less than the Madras Banghy burder.

249. In Bengal, the Banghy is extensively employed both by Government and individuals but the proportion of articles forwarded to Calcutta is so much less than those despatched from the Presidency that whereas 5 men are maintained at every stage to run *up* on the road to Cawnpore only 2 are retained to run *down*.

250. In Bengal besides the regular Banghy there are also extra Banghies which are entertained by the Post Office for the trip, according as their services are required. The number of such Banghies is considerable, and it is somewhat worthy of remark that the charge for a whole Banghy of 50 lbs. is the same only as is charged for half that weight. The cause for this anomaly does not appear. As many as 59 extra Banghies are occasionally despatched in one month from the Calcutta General Post Office.

251. In Madras, the Banghy being confined to only two roads is not available in the same proportion as in the Bengal Presidency. It is still however extensively employed especially by Government.

252. In Bengal, persons are permitted to send letters made up in packets by the Banghy, at Banghy rates, if they happen to prefer such conveyance.

253. In Madras this practice is prohibited under heavy penalties and any parcel suspected to contain letters is liable to be examined at the Post Office in presence of the person to whom it is addressed. It is to be observed that this restriction formerly existed in Bengal, but was abolished some years ago.

254. Throughout India, valuables are not knowingly received for despatch by the Banghy in order to guard as effectually as possible against the probability of robbery or detention of this conveyance.

255. In Bengal, a few years ago the practice of stealing from the Banghy was very prevalent. This in Mr. Elliot's opinion resulted in a great measure from its being conveyed in cane petaraks but partly also from the slow rate of travelling, and the stoppages at night in *chokees* on the road, by which ample opportunity was afforded for the perpetration of such offences. The Banghy is now conveyed in stout wooden boxes, no stoppages are allowed, it being alike the duty and interest of the contractor to prevent them; its speed has been materially augmented, it travels all night in like manner as the Mail and wherever necessary guards are furnished for its protection. The offence of stealing from the Banghy has in consequence of late years materially diminished and has now almost entirely ceased.

256. The rates of Banghy postage are very different in each Presidency as will appear from the annexed contrasted statement O. Between scales increasing by such dissimilar gradations in respect to weight to charge and to distance, it is difficult to frame any accurate average; but it may be generally stated that the Madras scale is materially higher than that of Bengal, and is very often double, while in Bombay on the only route whereon parcels are conveyed, the rate is lower than in Bengal.

257. In Bengal, the scale for a single Banghy commences with a minimum weight of 50 Siccas, a minimum distance of 50 miles and a minimum charge of 6 annas and increases to a maximum distance of 2,300 miles for which the charge is 108 annas for 50 Sicca weight. At 1,100 miles the charge is 54 annas. In respect to weight the Bengal scale increases regularly by 50 Sicca : 100 Sicca being rated as double, 150 treble and so on to the maximum weight of 540 Siccas or 12 lbs.

258. In Madras the scale commences with a minimum weight of 50 Siccas, a minimum distance of 80 miles and a minimum charge of 12 annas and increases to a maximum distance of 1,140 miles, for which the charge is 92 annas for 50 Sicca weight. In respect to weight the Madras scale increases by 30 Siccas at a time, the charge increasing somewhat irregularly from 30 to nearly 50 per cent. for each additional 30 Siccas, up to the maximum weight of 280 Siccas or 6½ lbs.

259. In Bombay a parcel not containing writings or printed papers and not exceeding 4 lbs. *i.e.*, 162 Siccas or one cubic foot in size is forwarded to Poonah 96 miles by the Dak Contractor at a charge of 16 annas or for every lb. exceeding 42 annas extra. These charges are the property of the contractor and do not form any portion of the Post Office collections. Beyond Poonah parcels can only be conveyed by Dak up to 25 Sicca weight, and at a charge of single letter postage for every 4 Siccas. But the Postmaster at Poonah forwards parcels, to other stations by coolies supplied through the Dak Overseer.

260. In Bengal and Madras, Banghy postage must be paid in advance, save on parcels received by sea, or on Books, Pamphlets and Papers received direct from the Press and which are despatched under an approved responsibility for the postage. In Bengal this privilege is also extended to pamphlets, or periodicals imported by Book-sellers.

261. In case of refusal by the parties, the packets are returned to the sender who has to pay direct and return postage.

262. In Bengal, parcels imported and forwarded by Banghy are subjected to the usual Banghy rates as far as 300 Siccas, but if above that weight are charged only half those rates.

263. *Franking*.—The power and privileges of Franking vary materially under the several Presidencies. It may, however, be stated generally that in each, a certain number of high functionaries, as well as certain authorities in Europe, *viz.*, the India Board, the Directors, etc., enjoy the privilege of sending and receiving all letters and parcels free. At Madras this indulgence, as respects the sending letters franked, on the part of such authorities as reside within that Presidency is accompanied by a stipulation similar to that in force in England, in respect to Members of both Houses of Parliament, that the whole direction must be in the handwriting of such officer, and that it must also bear the date and place whence despatched by post.

*N.B.*—The Frank of a Member of either House of Parliament does not entitle a letter in India to pass free.

264. In each Presidency, certain public officers possess the power of franking letters in the public service, but the system is not uniform, several authorities being permitted to frank in one Presidency to whom the power is not allowed in another.

265. In Bengal, the Government Secretaries, the Postmaster-General, Residents and Political Agents, are permitted to frank on "private service."

266. A similar privilege, including also the Adjutant, Quarter-master, and Commissary General, formerly existed at Madras and Bombay, but has

recently been abolished at both these Presidencies, at Bombay under date 13th October, 1832, at Madras from April 1st, 1834.

267. In Madras, the public officers are now divided into two cases "those who have power to frank all letters on the public service" and "those who have power to frank such letters, only to certain specified authorities or within certain divisions or districts" and it should be stated that since the revision of the franking rules at Madras in 1833-34, when the above system was introduced, and certain privileges withdrawn, the number of public letters has materially decreased.

268. In Bombay, a distinction with respect to certain authorities is made between a letter on "service" and one "on the service" the cause for which is not apparent. But all public officers, subordinate to that Presidency are required to send in monthly a declaration on honour that the contents of all letters and envelopes received, as well as all letters and envelopes despatched on the service have been exclusively confined to official matters.

269. It has been declared by the Government of India, that no public officer shall send or cause or permit to be sent under a cover bearing his frank any letter paper, writing or other enclosure, other than what shall relate to the public business of their respective departments. The power of franking is not restricted to documents written in official form but is extended to all letters which public officers have occasion to write on the public service, relating solely and exclusively to the business of their respective offices and departments.

270. In the event of any breach of the foregoing regulations, the Postmaster-General at each Presidency is authorised to levy an amount equal to ten times the regulated postage. Subordinates detected in introducing private documents into public covers are ordered to be dismissed, and any public officer affixing his frank to such documents, is ordered to be fined ten times the amount of postage, and to be reported to Government for such orders as may be deemed proper.

271. The Postmaster-General is moreover authorised to cause any franked letter respecting which there may be grounds of suspicion to be opened prior to delivery, in the presence of the parties to whom such letter or parcel may be addressed, or their Agents. Heads of Departments are, moreover, enjoined themselves to open all public letters to their address and to send to the Post Office every private letter enclosed under such public covers. In each Presidency the letters of all non-commissioned soldiers and sailors, and also of Native commissioned, non-commissioned and Sepoys and certain camp followers pass free of postage, when franked by their respective commanding officers.

Such letters are restricted to the size and weight of a single sheet of ordinary paper.

272. In Bengal and Bombay the number of such letters is not restricted. In Madras it is restricted to one daily for every hundred men. In Bombay, the letter must be brought open to the officer who is to frank the same.

273. The Bengal Postmaster-General observes that the system as in force in Bengal affords a great opportunity for fraud, it being notorious that both classes sell their privilege and take the letters of the Native Bankers and others to their commandments for signature. Mr. Elliot proposes as a check, that each sepoy should be permitted to write only to certain members of his family to be registered, but admits that this practice would occasion much trouble, and probably be but little attended to after all.

274. It is necessary here to bring to the notice of Government the prodigious increase in public correspondence in India since the year 1824-25. This increase has been very great at Madras, as shown in the annexed statement P but till more at Bombay, where it will be perceived it has actually doubled, and this increase has taken place notwithstanding the introduction of a system which directs that whenever two or more letters are to be despatched to one authority from any office by the same Dak, the whole shall be placed under one envelope.

275. The Committee regret that, on account of the destruction of records rendered necessary to prevent enormous accumulation of papers which have become useless for office purposes in the Bengal Post Office, with the sanction of Government, they are not able to ascertain to what extent the increase in public correspondence has been carried in that Presidency.

276. The letters of public officers who have occasion to correspond on matters purely of a public nature, but who are not themselves privileged to frank, are franked by certain regulated authorities, to whom it is their duty to submit them for that purpose.

277. Letters inaccurately franked are subjected to postage.

278. The mode of posting bearers for travellers throughout India differs in each Presidency. In Bengal, it is conducted entirely by the Post Office Department, unless parties prefer to post bearers privately for themselves. In Bombay it is partially conducted by that department, but on a system very dissimilar from that of Bengal while in Madras it has no connection with the Post Office, but is conducted by the Chief Police Magistrate at the Presidency and by Collectors and Magistrates of districts in the mofussil. We shall accordingly briefly notice each system in succession. But we must first bring to the notice of Government one point, in which the Presidencies of Bengal

and Bombay differ materially from that of Madras. In the two former, the hire of bearers, as well as of coolies, carts, etc., is not fixed by any Government Regulation, but varies according to circumstances in almost every district, and each bazaar apparently has its own rate. In Madras the rate is fixed by Government Regulation. If individuals choose of their own accord to hire themselves for less than the regulated amounts they are at liberty so to do, but they cannot exact a larger amount of hire.

279. Throughout Bengal and Agrah, Dak bearers are posted for travellers by the Post Office Department. The traveller pays in advance into the Post Office, ordering the Dak, a sum at the rate of 8 annas a mile, and 4 annas more as security against loss by demurrage. If no delays occur the 4 annas are refunded. The hire due to the bearers is paid to them by the Post Office Department, and as the charge of 8 as. more than defrays all expenses incurred on that account, the surplus is carried to a fund called the "staying Bungalow fund" a portion of which is expended for the maintenance of certain servants employed in its superintendence, and the remainder is retained for appropriation to the repair of public Bungalows. It will hereafter appear that all the servants employed on these duties are not charged to this head.

280. We have preferred enquiries to the local authorities on a variety of points connected with the management of this branch of the department, respecting which we were unable to procure information at the General Post Office, and which we shall accordingly embody, when received, in our second or financial report.

281. The amount at the credit of Deputy Postmasters on this account for the year 1834-35, as shown by a memorandum of

Receipts	...	135,959
Disbursements	...	117,486
		<u>18,473</u>

the Revenue Accountant, was Rs. 18,473 as per margin.

282. A set of Bearers throughout Bengal and Agra consists of 8 bearers, 2 massalgies and 2 Banghy burdars, unless parties please to order more of each.

283. In Madras until recently, the facilities for Dak travelling were very far behind those in Bengal, and it was exceedingly expensive. Bearers had however, been established at regulated stations on all the principal roads in Mysore, by the Government of that State, from the fall of Seringapatam, and a few years since some sets of bearers were also established by our Government along the southern route to the Neelgheries.

284. This system has recently been improved and extended, and 2 sets of bearers are now established, southward along the road from Madras to Sheally in Tanjore, and again from Trichinopoly to Ootacamond, as also westward from Madras to Baitmungalum, where they join the bearers of the Mysore

Government. These bearers are maintained on permanent hire at the expense of Government, and a charge for the same is made in advance to travellers at the rate of 8 annas a mile, and the amount paid into the Collector's Treasury, if in the mofussil and into the Police Office, if at the Presidency. The whole of these bearers are generally under the Superintendent of Police at Madras, who issues the necessary instructions to the local authorities, on all other routes, bearers are posted on application to the nearest local magisterial officer, who issues the necessary instructions and reports when the Dak is ready. The charge for such bearer is 5 annas for every mile they carry a loaded palanquin, and half that rate for every mile they travel to their station. The travellers receive from the officer who prepares the Dak, a memorandum showing the stations where the bearers are posted, and the amount to be paid to each set, not including demurrage. The traveller pays the bearers himself, enters each payment on the face of the above memorandum, and at the conclusion of the Dak returns the same to the proper officer for registration, stating that the sums specified have been severally paid, and noting any complaint that he may have to offer relative to the conduct of the bearers.

285. A set of bearers in Madras Presidency consists of 12 bearers, 1 massauljee, and 1 Banghy burdar.

286. The accounts of receipts and disbursements of the Government bearers are rendered by the Collectors of District in which the bearers are severally located.

287. The above arrangements, together with a revised rate of hire for bearers throughout the Madras Territories, *vide* statement Q, were recommended by a Madras Committee in February, 1835, but were only carried into effect so recently as November last.

288. In Bombay, the duty of posting bearers for the public has been conducted by the Post Office Department at Poona, by order of Government since 1828, but is not extended "by order" to any other station. It is, however, the practice of the Postmaster-General at Bombay and of his Deputies at out stations, to afford their assistance gratuitously, when required, in furtherance of this service. But these officers are not permitted to exercise any control over the several bearers employed. Travellers proceeding by Dak, pay the money, for the same in advance to the Deputy Postmaster who transfers it to the Muccadam or Surbaroy, *i.e.*, Native Overseer who supplies the bearers. The sum so paid is agreeably to the regulated hire of the men, and no portion of the same is retained by the Deputy Postmaster, nor is any account of such receipts and disbursements entered in the general accounts of the Post Office Department.

289. The Muccadum or Native Overseer receives a fee of 1 rupee per each set of bearers posted.

290. A set of bearers in Bombay consists of 12 men with 1 Masauljee and 1 Banghy burdar.

291. We have thought it unnecessary in this our first report in the Post Office Department to do more than submit the detail of the several systems as they actually exist. The suggestions we may have to offer in modification and improvement of the same, in the establishment of one uniform system for the whole of India in connection with the present and probable future Financial results in this department will form the subject of a further report at as early a period as may be practicable.

We have, etc.,

G. A. SIDDONS,  
*Hon. Member.*  
T. J. TAYLOR,  
*Secretary.*

J. A. CRAWFORD,  
W. R. YOUNG,  
H. BORRADAILE,  
H. BABINGTON,  
C. E. TREVELYAN,

## APPENDIX.

### STATEMENT C (*Vide* PARA 25.)

*Extract of letter from the Postmaster-General to the Secretary to the Post Office Committee, dated the 20th June, 1835.*

7. The Deputy Postmaster is supposed to superintend the collections and the duty generally, as well of the subordinate chowkies, as his own office, all subjects of complaints at either one or the other are referable to him. He has besides, except where separate contracts exist, the control of the mail and Banghy establishments throughout his division and the duty of providing Dak Bungalow for Travellers. The quantity of trouble thus entailed on the Deputy Postmaster, varies of course with the length and number of the mail roads leading through the Divisions, the extent and population of his own station and other circumstances, but in all cases, where there are more roads than one, the details required of the Deputy Postmaster, are sufficient to occupy a fair portion of his time, supposing him to perform the duty himself. Consequently those offices, which are under the charge of collectors, or other officers, holding them *ex-officio*, are but rarely superintended as they ought to be. On this subject, I have the honor to annex \*extracts as noted below of letters

\* Extract from Postmaster General's letters to Government 27th January, 31st August, and 19th December 1831,

addressed by me to Government. That the sentiments therein expressed are correct, has been confirmed in my mind by further experience, and I feel certain that so long as Government persist in maintaining this merely nominal superintendence, the improvement in the Post Office Department will be rendered doubly difficult. I have no hesitation in saying, that had an opposite system been resorted to 5 years ago, an improvement infinitely greater than has taken place would now be apparent, and as little, in further asserting, that a perseverance on the same system, will go far to defeat the exertions of future Postmasters-General to improve the mail conveyance of the country, to the degree to which I know it to be capable of improvement.

8. At present, the Collector at one station, the Deputy Collector and Joint Magistrate at another, the Political Resident at a third, is the Deputy Postmaster, all these officers have business of their own, of so much greater importance, that they rarely, if ever, interfere further with the Post Office than to affix their signatures to such papers as the Moonshee brings them. To remedy this, Government permit them to transfer the detail duties to their assistants. This being done, Mr. Assistant A takes charge, but being the week following ordered to undertake some duty in the mofussil, he is compelled to deliver over the Post Office to Mr. Assistant B, who being in his turn sent to make a settlement turns the Post Office over again to the Collector, and in this way the transfers take place so rapidly from one person, whose more important avocations render it impossible for him to do the duty, to another, who is frequently a young man fresh from College, and totally incapable of performing it, so that it is not uncommon, when calling for a report respecting any irregularity that has occurred to find that the office changes hands three or four times before the necessary information is obtained.

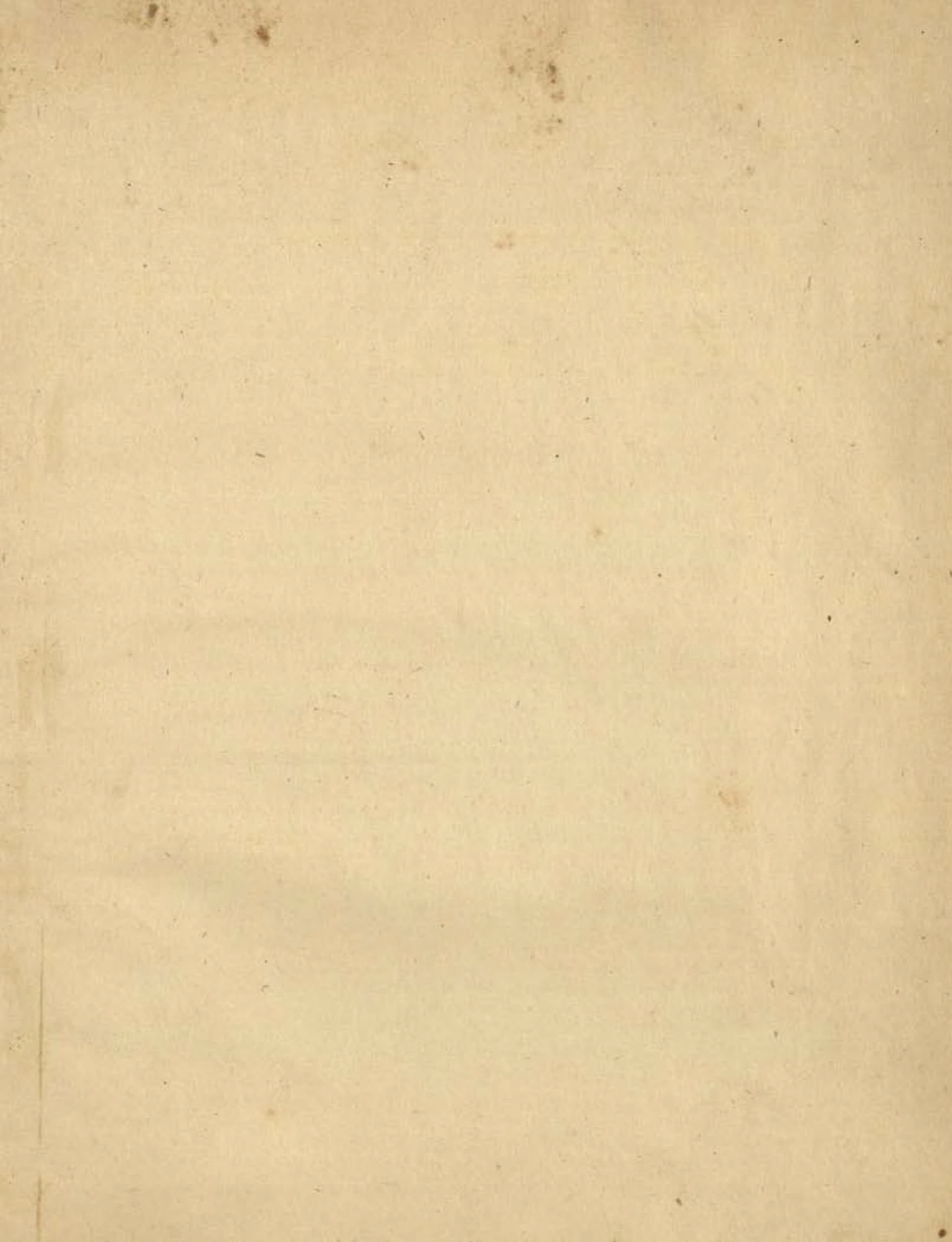
9. On this point I would beg leave to refer the Committee to a correspondence noted below\* respecting the loss of a certain sum embezzled in the Post Office at Futtyghur. It will show how impossible it is to fix responsibility upon any individual under such-a system and other similar instances are not wanting to prove this if necessary.

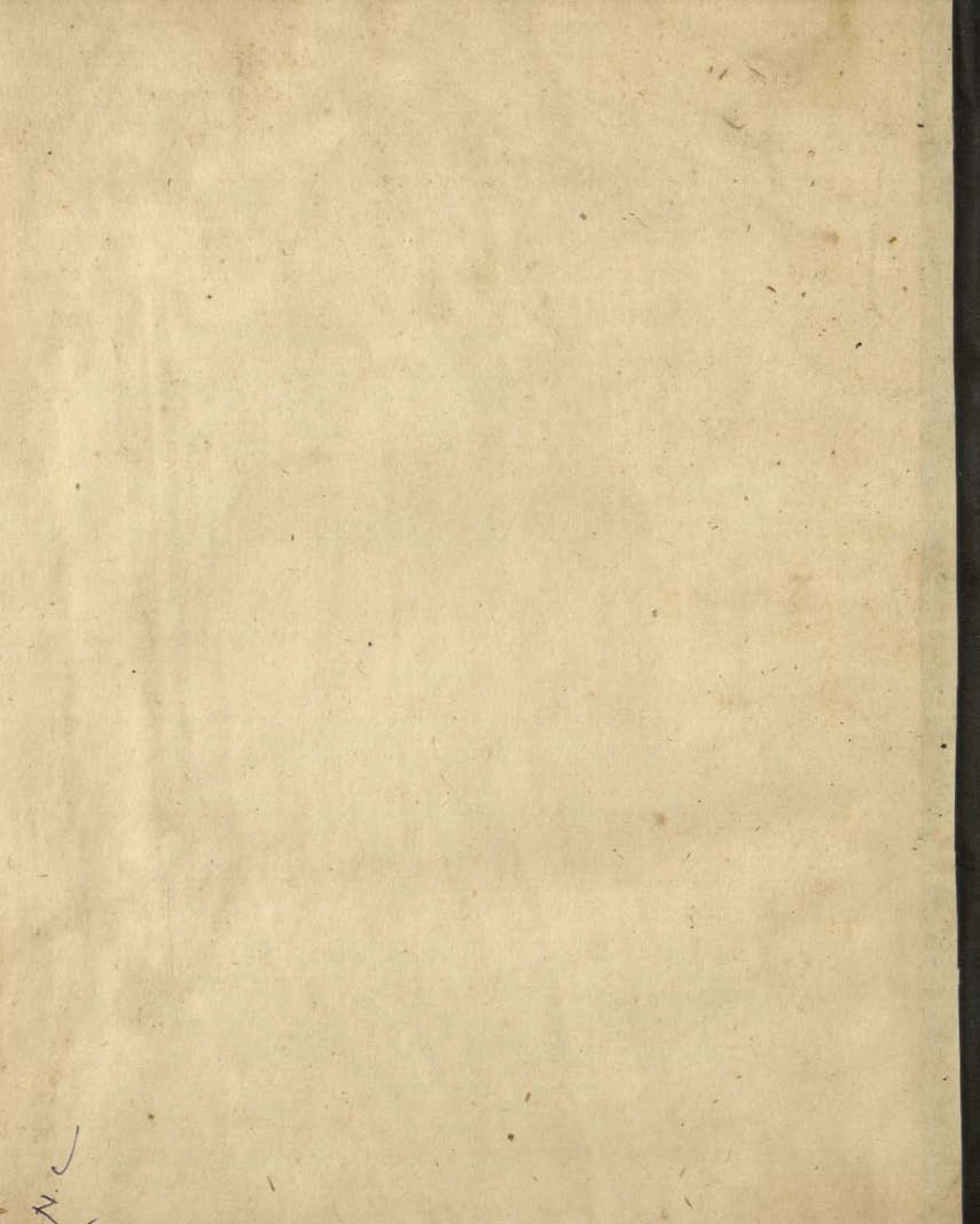
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\* Postmaster General's letter to Government 3rd April 1834, Futtyghur, Deputy Postmaster's letter to the Postmaster General 19th February, 1834; Postmaster General's reply 25th February, 1834, Deputy Postmaster's reply thereto 19th March, 1834.

(To be continued.)

(152) W





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